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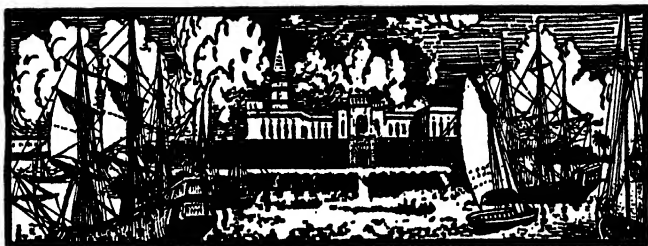
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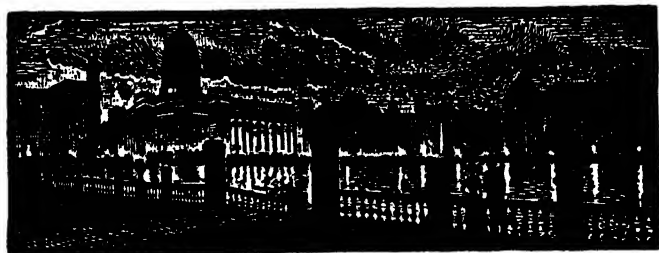
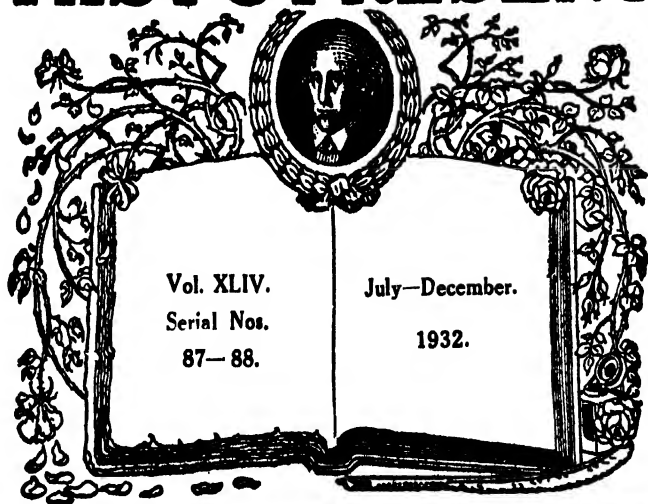




*College Row & Calcutta*



# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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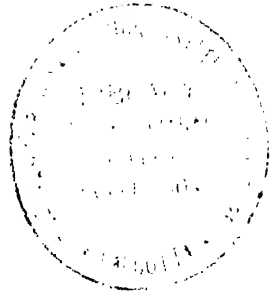
WARREN HASTINGS' FAVOURITE PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE.  
From the Painting by J. Zoffany, R.A.  
in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

# At a Great Price :

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AN INCIDENT OF HISTORY.

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## CHARACTERS.

WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General of India.

MARIAN, (*née* von Chapuset), his wife.

ALEXANDER ELLIOT, (son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto), his private secretary.

PHILIP FRANCIS, Member of Council, his enemy.

M. CHEVALIER, a Swiss, Governor of Chandernagore for the French.

MISS TOUCHET, friend of Mrs. Hastings.

AN AIDE-DE-CAMP.

Guests, Servants, &c.

TIME : Calcutta, 1778.

## SCENE I.

(*Mrs. Hastings' dressingroom. Roar of guns without.*)

*Enter Mrs. Hastings from verandah.*

MRS. H. A *feu de joie* for de capture by surprise of a small unarmed town ! Dey haf so little sense of proportion, dese English ! Surely dey need not thus rejoice over de misfortunes of de amiable residents of Chandernagore, whose guests dey haf so often been. But at least I have saved you, my beloved friend, and your sweet babes, from being dragged here in triumph, and exposed to de unfeeling comments of de ladies and gentlemen of Calcutta. Forced, alas ! to quit de agreeable dwelling where we have passed so many charming hours togeder, yet you are now, I trust, far down de river, escorted by your gallant spouse ; and de joy is mine, to haf enabled you to escape. (*Noise without.*) But Hastings returns from Council. Shall I confide to him my secret ? Nothing his Marian does is exceptionable in his eyes. But no ; I won't embarrass him with a confidence that might hamper him in dealing with his colleagues,

(Enter Hastings.)

HASTINGS. And how does my Marian today? (*raises her hand to his lips.*) I fear the roar of the Fort guns has deprived her of the slumber so necessary to her delicate constitution?

MRS. H. Oh, I am well enough. But you, Hastings, why is your brow so gloomy? Is not this a day of triumph for Calcutta?

HAST. Why, indeed, my dear, you must understand that you have the misfortune to be married to the most criminal wretch on the face of the earth. The only public disaster of which my enemies have so far scrupled to accuse me is the American revolt, and I am hourly expecting to have that omission rectified by overland packet.

MRS. H. But what new trouble is there?

HAST. Simply this. Mr. Chevalier has effected his escape, and Francis alleges that I connived at it.

MRS. H. Den dey are all safe!

HAST. Precisely, but not exactly in my Marian's signification of the term. Mr. Chevalier has more confidence in our humanity than she displayed when she wept over their prospective fate t'other day. He abandons his lady and children to our care, while he goes off to stir up the Mahrattas against us.

MRS. H. He has left dem behind?

HAST. Absolutely. When it was decided the place should be seized, Colonel Dow, who had the matter in hand, understanding the extreme importance of securing the person of Mr. Chevalier, surrounded the garden-house at Ghyretty with spies in the darkness, so that nobody could quit it unobserved. In the morning he advanced with his Sepoys, and summoned Mr. Chevalier to surrender. The answer returned was that the gentleman was dressing himself, but would wait upon the Colonel immediately. When he still failed to appear, Dow was about to search the house, but Mrs. Chevalier, with the most anxious air in the world, entreated him not to alarm her children, who were sick, and she would desire her spouse to bestir himself. Grown impatient at last, the Colonel forced his way into the bed-chamber, and thus discovered the evasion. Chevalier must have received warning the night before, and have set off down the river barely an hour before Dow posted his spies round the house.

MRS. H. But is it certain he was warned from here? Why should dey say you did it?

HAST. Francis has received information that Mr. Chevalier was visited before supper by two of the Company's servants, and he declares that to his certain knowledge they conveyed to him a warning—from me, so he alleges.

MRS. H. And you—what said you, Hastings?

HAST. I contradicted him, my dear, but civilly, I trust, and with such a consciousness of rectitude as staggered even the slanderer. I reminded him that my entire credit hung on Chevalier's capture, so that he might not join

the Mahrattas to instruct them in carrying out the French schemes, and I assured him that were the traitor the most confidential member of my own family—were he Elliot himself—he should receive the most exemplary chastisement.

MRS. H. (*wildly.*) But if it was your wife, Hastings—your most unhappy wife?

HAST. (*starting.*) Impossible! My Marian would never so far forget her duty to her husband as to assist his country's enemies.

MRS. H. (*falling at his feet.*) She has, she did! Alas! will Hastings turn away in anger from his poor Marian?

HAST. (*much agitated.*) Marian, assure me that this is untrue—a jest; that you are shielding some other person.

MRS. H. Alas, alas! it is too true. I sent a billet of warning to Mme. Chevalier. And I haf destroyed you!

HAST. You little know the calamity you have brought upon us, Marian. If Chevalier succeeds in reaching Poonah, the entire power of the Mahrattas will be hurled upon each of our settlements in detail, guided by a man versed in the military affairs of Europe. To ensure our more complete destruction, he will unite them with Hyder against us. Heavens! the prospect makes the mind reel. And it is your doing—yours!

MRS. H. Can nothing be done? I will gif my jewels—

Hast. Had you the wealth of Asia at command, it could not avail. Oh, Marian, from Francis and his confederates I expect unkindness, I anticipate treachery, but from you—you to whom I have spoke without reserve, confiding in the discretion I believed to distinguish you above all other females! Is there nobody I can trust?

MRS. H. (*sobbing.*) Hastings, you break my heart.

HAST. (*relenting.*) My Marian, have I spoken harshly? Pardon the bitterness of disappointment. Thank Heaven, whatever happens, I possess you still! (*Raises and embraces her.*)

MRS. H. (*eagerly.*) Dey shall not attribute it to you, Hastings. I will confess it; I will throw myself on de mercy of Mr. Francis.

HAST. Never, my Marian, never! Trust a tiger, trust a cobra, trust a Banyan, but never trust Philip Francis. I am convinced the exact method of the warning is fortunately hidden from him thus far, unless—Is it possible that he can have obtained possession of your *chit*?

MRS. H. Dat would help him little. 'Twas wrote in German, which nobody in de Presidency can read but Mme. Chevalier and I. Besides, I gave her no plain warning, but wrote in such terms as she alone would understand.

HAST. Why, this is better than I had feared, but there must have been treachery on the part of your *hircarra* (1), and Francis will reap the

(1) *Harkara*, messenger or spy.



advantage of it. The matter may slumber for a while, but he won't permit it to drop. And when he raises it again, I must withdraw my denial, and confess that the warning came from me.

MRS. H. But sure 'twas I sent it.

HAST. And is not my Marian myself? Ah, my dear, Mr. Francis will perceive the truth fast enough. He has a weapon to his hand in an old regulation, long fallen into disuse, but never revoked, forbidding the Company's servants, on pain of deprivation of their offices, to marry foreigners. There at last is the instrument by which he may turn me out of the situation he has so long desired to occupy. And that's only the least of the mischief.

MRS. H. And it must come? Dere's no averting it?

HAST. Why, yes, my dear; if you'll pray Heaven that Mr. Chevalier may fall into the hands of some of our agents or allies before he can approach Poonah. Then the harm will be undone.

MRS. H. (*in much excitement.*) But, Hastings—Elliot!

HAST. Well, my dear, what of him? Have you anything to say to him? I desired him to attend me in the anteroom after I had seen you.

MRS. H. (*stamping her foot.*) You are slow, dull! He goes to Berar—to de Mahrattas. He must stop M. Chevalier.

HAST. Gently, my Marian. He cannot start for ten days or a fortnight, and Chevalier will be far in advance. Moreover, he is engaged in a weighty political mission, and not in the pursuit of fugitives.

MRS. H. What does dat signify? (*Goes to the door.*) Mr. Elliot!

(*Enter Elliot.*)

EL. At Mrs. Hastings' service.

MRS. H. Pray, Mr. Elliot, gif me your attention. I need not ask if Mr. Hastings' interest is a matter of moment to you?

EL. Mr. Hastings knows, ma'am, that his interest is mine.

MRS. H. I knew it. Listen den, Elliot. No, Hastings, I will speak in my own way. Elliot, I haf betrayed your master's credit, played into de hands of his enemies, exposed de entire British power in India to disaster. It is yours to retrieve my errors. Led by a feminine credulity, I afforded M. Chevalier de information dat enabled him to escape. You must recapture him.

EL. Heaven send me the chance, ma'am!

MRS. H. Nay, you must make de chance. Think of all dat hangs upon your success—Mr. Hastings' honour, de safety of all de Britons in India. Never look me in de face again if you fail to seize de fugitive.

HAST. No, Marian, you must permit me to speak. Elliot, you know I have the highest confidence in you—a confidence never yet misplaced. Of the inestimable service you would render me by recapturing Mr.

Chevalier, I need not speak; you have heard of it from Mrs. Hastings' lips. But the mission on which you are bound is not the recapture of Mr. Chevalier, but the attachment to our cause of the ruler of Beiar. Bear in mind that the one must not be risked for the other, however great the advantage may appear. And bear in mind, most of all, that Hastings with Elliot beside him is still in a situation to command respect, if not success, but that Hastings deprived of Elliot has no single servant on whom he can entirely rely.

EL. Sir, your goodness overwhelms me. If anything could increase my zeal in your service, 'twould be the words you have been good enough to utter. Madam, so far as the matter hangs on Alexander Elliot, it is accomplished. Mr. Chevalier shall be captured, if it's in human power to do it.

## SCENE II.

(*Three months later. Diningroom in Hastings' house at Allypore. Dinner in progress. Francis seated beside Mrs. Hastings, Miss Touchet beside Hastings. Various members of the Household.*)

FRAN. (*aside to Mrs. H., with a glance across the table.*) Sure the prospect's an extraordinary agreeable one, ma'am—Jove diverted from brooding over the regulation of the universe by the assiduities of the charming nymph at his side!

MRS. H. (*coldly.*) Mr. Francis an't aware dat Miss Touchet is like a daughter to Mr. Hastings and myself?

FRAN. A daughter, ma'am? A sister—at least to Mrs. Hastings.

MRS. H. I said a daughter, sir.

FRAN. Why, then, ma'am, we must injure the scansion but amend the sense of the poet, and say, '*O filiâ pulchrâ mater pulchrior.*'

MRS. H. (*somewhat mollified.*) Flatterer! But what is it alarms my Miss Touchet?

MISS T. (*to H.*) You'll think me sadly fanciful, dear sir, but I could have sworn I saw two European gentlemen pass along the verandah just now, with their cloaks wrapped about their faces.

HAST. Miss Touchet's word will suffice us; her oath an't needed. But pray, ma'am, what is there alarming in the appearance of two more friends to join our party?

MISS T. Why, really, sir, I hardly dare tell you. Such an idea struck me—the oddest, the most absurd—you'll all die of laughing. I thought I recognised one of the gentlemen in spite of his disguise, and it was—

SERVANT. *Shivalyar Sahib hai.*

HAST. (*rising.*) Mr. Chevalier!—is it possible?

(*Mrs. Hastings quits her place, and joins him. Chevalier advances bowing, and holds out the hilt of his sword.*)

CHEV. It is I, indeed, sir. I come to surrender myself your prisoner, driven by no force but honour. Permit me to felicitate you upon the possession of such a follower as Mr. Elliot—the youthful, the incomparable Elliot. Will it be believed that the young gentleman, in the course of the mission on which you, sir, had despatched him, heard of M. Law and myself in the vicinity of Cuttack, and regardless of the unhealthiness of the season, and his own sickness, pursued us with the utmost resolution, finally swimming the river lest we should escape him? Having obtained the support of the Naib, he declared us his prisoners, but found himself confronted with a difficulty. He could not well conduct us with him on his journey into Berar; he had no force to send back with us to Calcutta. I perceived his dilemma; I compassionated, I admired him. The solution was found; I gave my word of honour to repair immediately to Calcutta, unescorted, and to surrender myself to you—

FRAN. (*aside.*) Trust the Frenchman to know when the game was no longer profitable!! Travelling in the rains through a hostile territory an't the most agreeable pastime in the world.

CHEV. I do not regret the generous impulse, I am not ashamed of it. Ascribe it, sir, to the admiration with which that estimable young man has inspired me. And having given my word, behold me here to redeem it!

HAST. Sir, I know not which possession to be more proud of—such a servant, or such a friend. Oblige me by retaining your sword, and do Mrs. Hastings the honour to taking a seat at her table.

FRAN. M. Chevalier will pardon me the question, but was it altogether kind in the *friend* of Mr. Hastings to sacrifice the advantage procured him by that friendship?

CHEV. By returning to Calcutta, sir? It was to honour that I sacrificed the advantage affection had secured for me.

FRAN. The affection of Mr. Hastings for his friends is well-known.

CHEV. Mr. Hastings, sir? Sure in the presence of these ladies it's unnecessary for me to recall the fact that I owed my evasion to female courage and fidelity?

MRS. H. Ah! (*Her husband presses her hand warningly.*)

FRAN. Sure M. Chevalier is happy in his female friends!

CHEV. (*bowing to the ladies.*) He is, sir, and especially in the possession of a wife who, he makes bold to say, is inferior to none of them.

FRAN. Great as are the merits of Mme. Chevalier, they don't enter into the present discussion, sir, I believe?

CHEV. How, sir? Is it possible you haven't heard of my wife's holding Colonel Dow in talk to give me time to make my escape? Or can it be that the respectable Dow has concealed the fact lest it should appear unworthy of his reputation for shrewdness?

FRAN. It was understood that M. Chevalier had escaped the night before.

CHEV. Then it must be Mme. Chevalier's shrewdness of which you think meanly, sir. Why should she waste time in securing my retreat when I was twelve hours gone?

FRAN. I don't pretend to read her mind, sir. It's asserted on credible evidence that you was visited and warned the night before by two of the Company's servants.

CHEV. I had the favour of the gentlemen's company to supper, sir, but no word of warning from them, I assure you.

FRAN. Then perhaps it an't true that Mme. Chevalier received through them a billet from a lady who is now in company?

CHEV. To be sure she did, sir—enclosing an embroidery pattern.

FRAN. (*triumphantly.*) Pray, will you give me your assurance that the billet did not enclose a warning; as well, sir?

CHEV. What! does Mr. Francis aspire to supervise his lady's correspondence with her female friends? If this is so, I am the less surprised that the peace of his family is best consulted by the expatriation of its head.

HAST. Stay, gentlemen; pardon me if I interrupt you. If my own character an't sufficient to protect my guest from these ill-natured hints, the infinite pains taken by my servant to secure him must supply the lack. This unbecoming interrogatory must proceed no further, but if Mr. Francis desires to frame a definite accusation, such as may justify his strange remarks, he's at liberty to do it.

FRAN. (*baflled but resourceful.*) Indeed, sir, I'll confess you had led me on a wrong track. I perceive my credulity in being deceived by the pretty little comedy you have devised to amuse the Court of Directors. The evasion of Mr. Chevalier, the dismay of Mr. Hastings, the frantic efforts of his zealous and active agent, the indefatigable Elliot—what a foundation for a glowing report and the consequent elevation of Mr. Elliot? His fortune is made, and that of Mr. Hastings assisted.

(*Enter Aide-de-camp with despatch, which he presents to Hastings.*)

AIDE. From Mr. Elliot's secretary Mr. Farquhar, sir. The express *hircarra* that brought it is but just arrived.

MISS T. La, Mr. Chevalier! the man must have followed on your heels the entire way.

FRAN. It appears that Mr. Elliot was not so guileless as to stake all upon his prisoner's honour.

HAST. Pardon me, ladies. (*Breaks the seal and glances at the letter.*) Heavens! what new blow is this?

MRS. H. Hastings, you are ill! Lean upon me.

HAST. (*slowly.*) Not ill, but grieved to the heart. I have lost my poor Elliot.

ALL. Lost! Not dead?

HAST. Dead, on his way to Naugpoor. (*Partly reading from the despatch.*) With a frame already dangerously weakened by the unhealthy season and the hardships of the journey, the generous youth, knowing the importance of effecting the arrest of Mr. Chevalier, did not scruple to swim a flooded river when the exertion was in the highest degree perilous to him. Having sent his prisoners hither, he prepared to continue his expedition with infinite spirit, but his enfeebled constitution refused to endure the fresh trials to which he desired to subject it. He is no more, and the loss to me is irreparable. (*After a pause.*) Is Mr. Francis convinced now of the falsity of his ungenerous accusation? Alas! I would lie under a thousand such could I be assured that Elliot still lived.

FRAN. Sir, the young gentleman may be said to be *felix opportunitate mortis*.

HAST. (*turning from him to the ladies.*) Would that I also could find the relief of tears! Then I might drown my sense of the public loss in picturing the grief of his venerable father, my faithful friend and supporter, of his lovely sister, of his promising brother, when they learn that their Alick is no more. But even the thought of their affliction fails to move me, in comparison with my own loss and that of the state.

MRS. H. (*aside to Miss T.*) My sweetest Miss Touchet, for Heaven's sake, relieve us of dese people for a few moments!

MISS T. What do you say to a moonlight promenade, gentlemen? Pray, Mr. Chevalier, oblige me with your hand into the garden.

(*All go out but Hastings and Mrs. Hastings.*)

MRS. H. Hastings, calm yourself. Why dis excessive disorder? De loss is great, but you haf oder friends, oder servants.

HAST. Servants who serve themselves, friends of my enemies! I have nobody like him, at once faithful and enterprising—nobody I can send to take up the negociations. They must lapse, and Moodajee be converted from a probable friend into a certain foe. We are encompassed with enemies already—the Fench, Hyder, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and now Berar. Sure the British power is doomed, and I can do nothing to arrest its downfall.

MRS. H. Where is your courage, Hastings? Dis I know—if you can't maintain de British power in India, dere's nobody can. What! will you see it sink into de melancholy situation it occupies in America, because de man entrusted with authority has given way to despair?

HAST. Alas, my Marian, your husband has little cause for anything but despair. Slighted at home and opposed in Bengal, foreseeing further evils which he can't prevent, deprived of his worthiest instrument, what can he do?

MRS. H. He can place his confidence in Heaven, and go forward boldly. Alas, Hastings! must I remind you, when you lament so feelingly de poor Elliot's death, dat it is to your Marian you owe it? But for my warning to

Mme. Chevalier, he need not have perilled his life to secure her husband, and might now be safe in Naugpoor.

HAST. What a callous wretch am I, to have planted this thorn in the bosom of the being to whom I am so infinitely obliged! Yes, my Marian, your Hastings will cease these unmanly repinings, and apply himself afresh to the task committed him by his sovereign and his employers. Despair can never touch him while his Marian is left to him, though every other support fail. Though he can't repair the loss of Elliot, yet he can face its grievous results with constancy.

MRS. H. Now I recognise my Hastings again!

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(HISTORICAL NOTE.—It appears tolerably certain that Chevalier was warned of the British designs on Chandernagore, but it is uncertain from whom the warning came. Francis's creature, Macintosh, reiterates the charge against Hastings in his "Travels in Europe and Asia," three years later. Chevalier's escape, capture, return to Calcutta, and the death of Elliot, are all historical.)

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

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## Robert Farquhar

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The text of the letter announcing the death of Alexander Elliot was printed in Vol. VI of *Bengal : Past and Present* (pp. 198-199). It was written by Robert Farquhar, Elliot's companion on the mission to Nagpur, on September 13, 1778, "on the Banks of a Nullah 2 coss to the Eastward of Sarangur" [Sarangarh] in the Chhattisgarh State. A view of the monument erected by Hastings on the spot was reproduced in Vol. II (p. 415).

Farquhar's own death was reported by Capt. Campbell in a letter from "Rottunpore" on October 19. Little is known of Farquhar's career in India : beyond the fact that he was evidently residing in Madras in May 1777, for he was one of the jury who held an inquest on Lord Pigot (Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, p. 110). As regards his parentage, Major Hodson has ascertained that he was born in 1755, and that he was the younger brother of Sir Walter Farquhar, physician to the Prince of Wales, who attended Pitt in his last illness and received a baronetcy in 1796. In a letter of September 9, 1778, to Hastings, Elliot says that "Mr. Farquhar in his younger days was bred to Physick." Farquhar's mother was a member of the well-known Turing family which was represented in Madras until quite recently. Two of his nephews, the sons of Sir Walter Farquhar, were writers in the company's service. Walter Farquhar, the younger, who was a Bengal writer of 1797, married a daughter of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the sixth baronet, and died at St. Helena in 1813, presumably on his way to Europe. The elder, Robert Townsend Farquhar (1776—1830), a Madras writer of 1793, was Private Secretary to Lord Minto when Governor-General and became Lieutenant-Governor of Prince of Wales' Island and Governor of Mauritius. He received a baronetcy in 1821 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1826 to 1828. Sir John Henry Townsend Farquhar (1839—1877), the fifth baronet of this creation, was one of the Lucknow garrison in 1857 and was wounded at Chinhut.

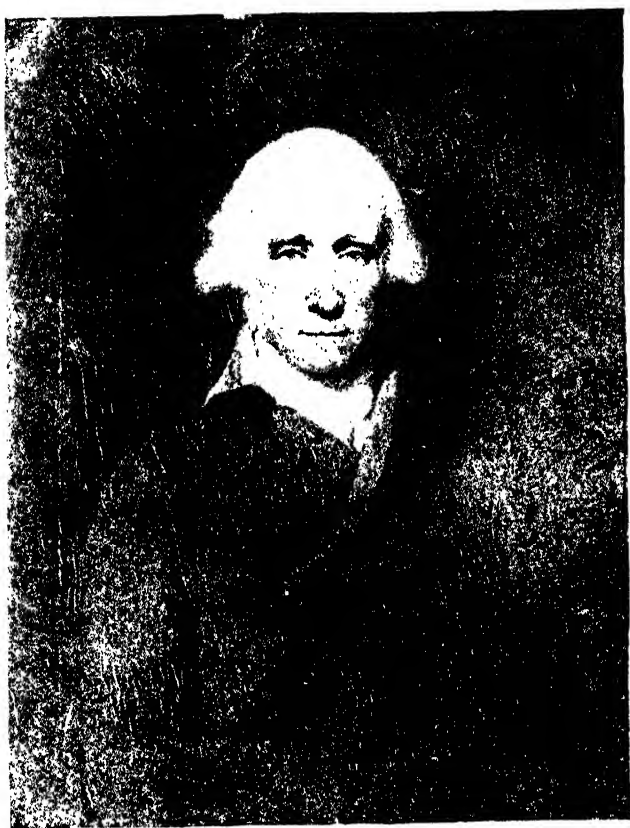
E. C.

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*BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.*  
*VOL. XLIV.*



WARREN HASTINGS.

From the Portrait by Lemuel F. Abbot.

From the Picture at the  
Victoria Memorial Hall.

## Warren Hastings' Favourite Portrait.

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VISITORS to the Victoria Memorial Hall will find two portraits of Warren Hastings hanging side by side. They are two of the many which were painted by Lemuel Francis Abbott (1760-1803), an artist of some note in his day. Who is represented in the National Portrait Gallery in London by no less than thirteen portraits, including excellent likenesses of Nelson and Lord Macartney (Governor of Fort Saint George from 1780 to 1785).

Among the numerous portraits of Hastings his favourite was undoubtedly the one for which he sat to Abbott in 1795-1796. It pleased him so much that he ordered several replicas of it and gave them to his friends and relatives. Two or these replicas are at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

### THE ORIGINAL PICTURE.

The original was presented in 1797 to Hastings' lifelong friend David Anderson and is now in the possession of his great great grandson, Captain D. M. Anderson of Bourhouse, Dunbar (1). The story is told in four letters. Three of them are from Anderson to Hastings and are preserved among the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum. The fourth, or second in point of time, is from Hastings to Anderson and forms part of the Anderson family papers. It has not hitherto been published: and the copy now printed has been most courteously supplied by Captain Anderson.

The first letter (B. M. Add. MS. 29174-19) is written from St. Germain's by Haddington on May 8, 1795. David Anderson, it should be explained, had been staying in London for the conclusion of the impeachment and had been one of the guests at the dinner partly which Hastings gave on April 23 to celebrate his acquittal.

MY DEAR SIR,

I think it will give you pleasure to hear that I am arrived at this place a week ago and found Mrs. Anderson and my children in perfect health.

I have mentioned to Mrs. A. your obliging promise of sitting for me to some painter, and we have had much consultation to determine which we should prefer, a miniature or a portrait. I was at first rather inclined to prefer the former. I was perhaps rather selfish in wishing to carry your picture always with me, and to monopolize

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(1) For some account of the Anderson family. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLI, pp. 86-87. Lt. Gen. Sir Warren Hastings Anderson who died on December 10, 1930, was the grandson of David Anderson's younger son Warren Hastings Anderson; and his brother Admiral Sir David Murray Anderson has just been appointed Governor of Newfoundland.

it in a manner to myself. Mrs. A., on the other hand, was strenuous for a patriot, to be put up in our principle room, so that not only ourselves but all our friends may share in the pleasure of seeing you amongst us. Her arguments have prevailed, and it is now accordingly our joint request that you will take the earliest opportunity of fulfilling your kind promise by sitting for your portrait to whatever artist you think will do it most justice.

The second letter, which has hitherto been wanting to complete the series, was written by Hastings from Daylesford House on "13 Janry., 1797."

MY DEAR ANDERSON,

It is probable that you may have forgot a wish which you kindly expressed and which I answered by an almost solemn promise many years ago. It was never out of my remembrance, though a series of Disappointments first, and subsequent embarrassments of choice, prevented the accomplishment of the latter.

To Sir Josua Reynolds I more than once mentioned my desire of sitting to him at a very early period. What prevented it then I do not recollect but well remember the subsequent causes ; his long illness, loss of sight, and death. After that event I could meet with no artist with whose skill I was satisfied, till accident brought me acquainted with Mr. Abbot, and after many patient sittings in the course of two years, if not more, and much change in the original similitude, I at length obtained from him one which, whether well executed or not, has appeared to me to bear a stronger resemblance of me than any that I have yet seen.

I desired him to send it to you and to let me know when it was despatched, which he did by a letters bearing a wrong direction, so that I did not receive it till to-day ; and it is therefore possible that you may receive the picture before this appraisal of it. It was sent off last Friday (the 6th, I believe) by the Edinburgh waggon. I request your acceptance and hope it may remain in your family as a lasting memorial of the friendship of a man who always loved you, not only for the proved attachment which you have ever manifested towards him, but for a large portion of the reputation which he has acquired among that part of the world that is willing to allow him any.

Yours ever most affectionately,  
WARREN HASTINGS.

To this Anderson replies (B. M. Add. MS. 29, 175-15) on January 22, 1797, from North Castle Street, Edinburgh.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is impossible to me to express my feelings at receiving your letter of the 13th. The present which you have sent me will afford me more real happiness than any gift that Fortune could bestow.

To nine-tenths of the world a portrait of you drawn from the life would be highly valuable. What must it be to me who can look back to twenty years of uninterrupted friendship and who owe to your kindness much of the comfort I have enjoyed and to your distinguished attention perhaps all the share of fame that I possess? I shall preserve it as a sacred memorial of your friendship and transmit it to my descendants as an object of veneration and an incitement to virtue.

If anything could add to the value of such a present it is the kind letter which notified it. It is enough to make me vain, and I certainly feel some sensation like either vanity or pride. But I will not let either vanity or pride so far carry me away as not to disclaim the merit which your partiality leads you to allow me. If I had any merit in my public character under you, it was that of following out your instructions or where I was obliged to act for myself it was that of conceiving rightly what you under such circumstances would have wished me to do. And here let me recollect with pleasure that in all difficult cases nothing was of so much use to me as the conviction that, whilst I acted right, whether I had your instructions or not, I was sure of meeting with your approbation.

From enquiries which I have made at the wagon office I find that it may be Thursday next before my impatience can be gratified by the arrival of your Picture.

The arrival of the portrait is announced in the fourth letter (B. M. Add. MS. 29, 175-26), which was written by Anderson from North Castle Street, Edinburgh, on February 3, 1797:—

MY DEAR SIR,

Your Picture is arrived and I am delighted with it beyond expression. It is not only a fine painting but, what is infinitely more valuable, it is the strongest resemblance I ever saw. I could almost imagine when I look at it that you were present and speaking to me. Mrs. Sands (2) and many of your Friends have been here to see it, and every one admires it more than another. I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for this valuable Present. Mrs. Anderson is almost as proud of it as I am.

(2) Mrs. Sands was the widow of Major William Sands who had been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1780-1781 and subsequently Regulating officer of the Calcutta Militia. He accompanied Hastings to Europe in February 1785, and died at Hailes near Edinburgh on November 14, 1790. His widow died at Edinburgh on April 13, 1807. Their son William John Sands, who was baptized at Calcutta on January 30, 1782, came out to Bengal as a writer in 1797, was second judge of the provincial court at Benares in 1822, and retired on annuity on January 2, 1827. Another son was named after Warren Hastings.

## SOME OF THE REPLICAS.

It has already been mentioned that Hastings commissioned a number of replicas of the portrait which he presented to David Anderson, and that two of these replicas are in the Victoria Memorial Hall. One of them was bequeathed in 1919 by Miss Marian Winter, the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings (3), to the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, by whom it was, at the instance of Lord Curzon, lent to the Calcutta collection. It came from Daylesford and seems to have been painted for Hastings himself.

The other, which hangs by its side, was presented in 1909 by Kumar Birendra Chandra Sinha of Paikpara. It was bought by him from Messrs. Arthur Tooth and Sons as a portrait by Hoppner. But a careful comparison of it with the Daylesford picture can leave no doubt that, with the exception of a slightly faulty drawing of the mouth, it is an exact counterpart, even in size (20 inches by 24 inches). Its history is known. According to Sir Charles Lawson (*Private Life of Warren Hastings*, p. 246) it was sold at Christie's on July 11, 1885. It was then in the collection of Mr. J. Passmore Edwards. A previous owner had been a Mrs. Plumer, to whom it came in all probability from Sir Thomas Plumer, who was one of Hastings' counsel at the impeachment and was subsequently Master of the Rolls. It would appear also that it was at one period in the possession of the Minto family: for inscribed on the back of the canvas are the words "Portrait of Warren Hastings", in the handwriting of the first Lord Minto (1751-1814). An engraving by H. Robinson may be found in Jerdan's *National Portrait Gallery* (1830-1834; Vol. 111) with an attribution to Sir Joshua Reynolds. But, as we have seen, Hastings asserts positively, in his letter to Anderson, that he did not sit to Sir Joshua, who died, as a matter of fact, in 1792. There is a portrait of Hastings by Reynolds, which was at one time in the possession of Lady Northwick (4). But the engraving of it by Thomas Watson, of which a copy was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Miss Winter in 1904, was published on March 26, 1777. Hastings is represented as a young man, seated at a table, with one knee crossed over the other, and the picture is nearly full length.

A third replica was sold at Christie's on June 29, 1929, as the work of Sir William Beechey. In this case there was again no difficulty in detecting the misdescription for the picture not only resembled the portrait by Abbott

(3) Miss Winter died at Nether Worton House, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire, on March 31, 1919, in her eighty-first year. Many relics of Hastings were bequeathed by her to the Victoria Memorial Hall. Her father, the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford, married Marian Chapuset, the daughter of Baron Chapuset, Mrs. Hastings' brother, who became her aunt's companion after the death of Hastings in 1818. The family papers passed into the custody of Mr. Winter on the death of Mrs. Hastings' son, Sir Charles Imhoff, in 1853.

(4) Lady Northwick was the widow of the third and last Lord Northwick (1811-1887) and died on May 29, 1912, when the Northwick estates passed to Sir Charles Hamilton Rushout (1868-1931), fourth and last baronet, who died without issue. He was descended from Charles Cockerell (d. 1837) founder of the once-famous Calcutta firm of Cockerell Traill Palmer and Co.; he was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1776 to 1794 was created a baronet in 1809 and married as his second wife Harriet Rushout, daughter of the first Lord Northwick. The second baronet (1809-1869) took the name of Rushout.

in the Victoria Memorial Hall in every detail but was entirely different from William Skelton's engraving of Beechey's portrait which was published in 1817, the year before Hastings' death (5). The picture had been the property of Major-General Sir Charles Walters D'Oyly (1822-1900), the ninth baronet, who was the son of Hastings' word. Sir John Hadley D'Oyly the younger (1794-1869) and who must not be confused with his uncle Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845), the artist-civilian and seventh baronet. He was, however, likewise an artist, and the illustrations to Sir William Hunter's *Old Missionary* are his (6). So also are two sketches in water-colour in the Lyall collection of Sir Hugh Wheeler and General W. H. Hewett (1790-1863), who cut such a poor figure when in command at Meerut in May 1857 (7).

There is reason to believe that the half-length portrait, in a dark coat and red waistcoat, which is in the possession of the Dowager Lady Teignmouth and which originally belonged to Sir John Shore, is another of Abbott's replicas, although long ascribed to A. W. Devis.

It would seem that copies were also painted for William Cowper and Edward Baber, two civilians who had served under Hastings in Bengal. In a letter written from Daylesford on May 6, 1797, Hastings mentions the Cowper portrait, and sends to Baber along with his picture, the well-known lines of which the first-half is as follows:—

A mouth extended fierce from ear to ear,  
 With fangs like those which wolves and tigers wear ;  
 Eyes whose dark orbs announce a sullen mood,  
 A lust of rapine and a thirst of blood—  
 Such Hastings was, as by the commons painted.  
 (Men shudder'd as they looked, and women fainted)  
 When they display'd him to the vacant throne  
 And bade the Peers the labour'd likeness own ;  
 And such in all his attributes array'd  
 Behold him here on Abbot's canvas spread !  
 'Tis true, to vulgar sense they lie conceal'd,  
 To Burke, and men like Burke, alone, reveal'd.  
 They, their own hearts consulting, see him here,  
 In lines reflected from themselves appear ;  
 With metaphysic eyes the picture scan,  
 Pierce through the varnish, and detect the man.

The text of the whole poem is displayed in a frame at the Victoria Memorial Hall, below the two replicas which hang there.

(5) There is a copy of the engraving at the Victoria Memorial Hall, it was presented by the Raja of Hill Tippera in 1904.

(6) For an account of Sir C. W. D'Oyly. See *ante*, p. 95.

(7) He has been described as "inefficient, indolent, and corpulent": but there is this to be said in his favour that he was sixty-seven years of age at the time and should have been on the retired list.

Lastly, in a letter to *The Times* of January 11, 1928, Mrs. E. F. A. Wansbrough of Shotwick Vicarage, near Chester, announced that she was the owner of yet another replica. Mrs. Wansbrough is the daughter of the late Mr. Warren Hastings—Woodman. Hastings, whose grandmother Ann Hastings was the Governor-General's sister, and whose mother, Louise Chapusettin, was a niece of Mrs. Warren Hastings. She communicated another interesting fact.

### MEMORIES OF HASTINGS.

In a letter published in *The Times* on January 6, the late Dr. George Claridge Druce of Oxford stated that he was the possessor of "two richly carved ivory staves of office of the Kings of Oude, which were brought to Daylesford by Warren Hastings, and kept there." He wrote:—

They are over 5ft. high and about 2in. in diameter at the top but tapering to the base. Each is in two pieces only, the joints being hidden by a metal band. A subsequent member of the Daylesford family had them mounted in ebony and gold stands, and the staves were pierced in order to support folding glass frames, with water-colour paintings to serve as fire screens.

Commenting upon this letter Mrs. Wansbrough observed: "There was a room at Daylesford often spoken of as furnished entirely in ivory, upholstered in blue velvet." The reference must be to the famous set of ivory furniture sent by Munny Begum (the widow of Mir Jaffir) to Mrs. Hastings in 1782, and now the property of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Durbhanga, whose father presented a teapoy and a chair belonging to the set to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Writing on January 2, Sir Algernon Law communicated the text of a letter written from Daylesford on February 19, 1798, by Hastings to Ewan Law, the elder brother of Lord Ellenborough who was the leading counsel for the defence at the impeachment. In the course of this letter Hastings observes:—

Men who are guilty of associate crimes, especially if their gang is numerous, seldom feel compunction for them. The prime mover of my impeachment may have experienced a sensation of that kind, if he himself could discriminate the pangs of disappointed rancor from the horrors of self-condemnation: but for the rest, I fear that their number, which is their protection against popular condemnation, is also their effectual guard against self-reproach.

The occasion for the letter was an acknowledgment by Law (who had served in Bengal from 1764 to 1782 and was now a member of Parliament) of a book which Hastings had sent to him. The late Mr. Arthur Caspersz, of the Calcutta Bar, wrote on January 6 to say that he was the owner of a copy of this book which was the "Debates of the House of Lords, Proceedings of the East India Company, Testimonials, etc", and was published in 1797.

Mr. Caspersz' copy contained the inscription : "To Capt. H. S. Davis from A. M. A. Hastings, Daylesford House, Novr. 9, 1836." As another inscription testifies, Mrs. Hastings was then in her eighty-ninth year : she died on February 20, 1837. Capt. Henry Samuel Davis was the son of Samuel Davis, the artist friend of the Daniells and hero of Nandeswar House at Benares, who had a house at Kingham near Daylesford.

In the course of other correspondence which followed it was revealed that Hastings' watch, with the hall-mark of 1744, was owned by the late Sir John Murray, the publisher, whose father received it as a bequest from Miss Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop), the well-known traveller. The present Sir John Murray still has the watch which (he assures me) is in perfect working order.

It remains to add that a muzzle-loading single-barrelled fowling-piece, which is said to have belonged to Warren Hastings, forms part of the Lyall collection. A letter which accompanies it is signed Charles Dodge and states : "The old Indian gun was the property of Warren Hastings, late Governor of India. My father was steward for some years at Daylesford, and I was born on the estate. My grandfather and father are buried at Daylesford." Additional interest attaches to the gun from the fact that the words "Lucknow Arsenal" are engraved on the lock, and the name of Claude Martin is on the left side of the barrel. The stock is inlaid with silver and chased, and the plate protecting the butt and the trigger guard are of solid silver ; the barrel at the trigger end is inlaid with gold. As the number 23 is on the trigger guard, it would seem that the gun is one of a series.

EVAN COTTON.

[Portions of this article were published in the *Statesman* of August 28, 1932].

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# The letters of Capt. William Mercer.—II.

## Series IV.

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### INTRODUCTION.

#### INDIA IN 1783.

**I**T is necessary to revert for a few moments to the movements of the English and French fleets, and whilst doing so to touch briefly on the more important events which took place on land during the year 1783.

When we left the rival commanders towards the close of the preceding year, Hughes was at Bombay, and Suffren at Achem. On 20th December, the latter sailed and on Jan. 8, 1783 anchored off Ganjam, 500 miles N.E. of Cuddalore. Meanwhile (7th Dec.), Hyder Ali's death had taken place, and news thereof reaching Suffren on 12th January, he sailed immediately for Cuddalore in order to communicate with Tippoo Sultan, Hyder's son and successor; and incidentally to secure the safety of the garrison of the place which was in danger of being attacked by General Stuart. Leaving Cuddalore, Suffren next went to Trincomalee, where, on 10th March, he was joined by Bussy from the Isle of France with 3 ships and numerous transports. Five days later Suffren sailed, and on 16th March landed these reinforcements at Porto Novo, after which he returned to Trincomalee.

Sir Edward Hughes had by this time left Bombay with 17 ships of the line, and on 11th April he fell in with Suffren's fleet off Trincomalee. As both commanders were more or less unprepared, no fight ensued, and the English went on to Madras.

Preparations for the recapture of Cuddalore were now made by the English, and early in June, General Stuart took up a position to the south of that fortress, Sir Edward Hughes coming to his assistance with the English fleet. On the 13th June, the entrenched position held by the French under Bussy was attacked by Stuart, who succeeded in capturing 13 guns and the key of the position, and compelled the French to withdraw into the fort.

News of the blockade of Cuddalore reaching Suffren at Trincomalee on 10th June; he sailed at once, and on the evening of the 13th came in sight of the English fleet. Baffling winds prevailed for the next day or two, but on the 17th Suffren succeeded in communicating with the fort and embarked 1,200 of the garrison to fill the vacancies in his ships. On the 20th Suffren attacked, and although the odds in ships were 18 to 15 in favour of the English, this advantage was counterbalanced by the fact that no less than 1,700 of Hughes'

fleet were disabled by scurvy ; and the result was once more indecisive. Each side lost about 500 men ; but Hughes, from the state of his ships and the want of water, was unable to continue the conflict and retired to Madras, abandoning the English army, and leaving Suffren anchored off Cuddalore for the time being supreme at sea.

The latter now returned the 1,200 men he had borrowed from Bussy together with some 2,000 of his fleet. Thus strengthened, the French general, on 24th June, made a vigorous sortie which was repulsed with heavy loss to the French.

On June 29, news of the Peace of Versailles reached Cuddalore from Madras, and on July 8, hostilities ceased. Suffren finally sailed from Trincomalee for France on Oct. 6, 1783.

On the western side of India, on learning of the death of Hyder Ali, the Bombay Government ordered General Mathews to discontinue his operations on the coast and push on against Bednore. Hyderghur was captured on Jan. 27 ; Bednore surrendered on terms ; and Mangalore capitulated on March 9. Shortly afterwards Tippoo Sultan returned with a strong force from the Carnatic, and on May 3, the English garrison marched out of Bednore, having retained that fortress about three months.

The conditions on which the garrison surrendered were, however, violated by Tippoo, who, on the pretext that the public treasury had been plundered by the English officers, seized some of them, including General Mathews, and sent them off into captivity.

Tippoo next turned his attention to the recapture of Mangalore. The garrison, however, managed to withstand a protracted siege, and the fortress was eventually saved by the arrival of news of the conclusion of peace between England and France ; whereupon Tipoo agreed to an armistice.

### LETTER XIII.

Under the designation "Governor-General's Family" were, at this period, included all the members of what is now called the Personal Staff.

The actual order appointing Mercer to the Body Guard has not been traced. This letter and the preceding one, however, fix the date of his appointment somewhere between Dec. 10, 1782, and Feb. 16, 1783.

HYDER ALI died on 7th December, 1782, at Narsingh Rayanapet, near Chittoor. Owing to the absence of his son Tippoo Sultan in Malabar, it was necessary to conceal his death from the army until Tippoo should arrive and maintain his claim as successor to the throne. The body was accordingly emblamed, deposited in a chest supposed to contain treasure, and sent from the camp under an escort. Hyder Ali's palanquin continued to accompany the army on the march, in its accustomed position, and the business of State

was carried on as usual. In order to avert suspicion it was given out that the Chief was ill, and that perfect freedom from noise and interruption was essential to his recovery. Tippoo Sultan reached the army 26 days after his father's death, when the deception which had been practised was disclosed. News of his death was brought to the English camp on 12th December, by a courier who performed the journey from Seringapatam, a distance of 400 miles, in four days.

SIR EYRE COOTE—(1726—1783.) He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India on April 17, 1777; and succeeded General Clavering as Member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta on March 24, 1779. In 1780 he was sent by Hastings to Madras in order to take charge of the operations against Hyder Ali. In September, 1782, owing to ill health, he was obliged to resign the command of the army at Madras, and returned to Calcutta. His health improving, he returned to Madras, sailing on March 15, 1783, in the Company's armed ship *Resolution* which was carrying a large supply of money for the Madras Government. Towards the close of the voyage the *Resolution* was chased for two days by a French ship. Although the *Resolution* succeeded in eluding her pursuer, the anxiety and excitement was too much for Coote in his weak state of health; bringing on a relapse which proved fatal on April 28, 1783, within three days of his landing at Madras.

### No. XIII.

*To William Mercer Esq., Perth, N.B.*

CALCUTTA,  
Feb'y. 16th 1783.

I have only time to tell you that I have gott pretty well settled here I am appointed Lieut. in the Governor's body troop, and am one of his family. Hyder Ali is dead, and a peace signed with the Mahrattas, the French fleett have been up the Bay as far as Ganjam, have taken several small vessels. Our fleett are at Bombay but are expected soon to return to the Coast. Sir Eyre Coote proposes leaving this in a few days on his way to Madrass to take on him the command of the army.

### LETTER XIV.

Mangalore surrendered to the British on 9th March, 1783, and was occupied by a British garrison. News of this success could hardly have reached Calcutta by 14th March. Possibly, although commenced on 14th March, this letter was not closed until some days later.

## No. XIV.

*To Wm. Mercer Esq.*CALCUTTA,  
14th March 1783.

I wrote you by the packett some time since, I am since appointed Lieut. to the Governor's Body Troop and am one of his Family and there are few pleasanter families in Europe. If he remains here any time I hope I shall not repent by coming to this country. I have not experienced any of the hot season yett it is now coming on and I believe will agree with me perfectly. There is little news here the French Fleett have been ranging all the coasts this two months past while Sir Edward Hughes has been refitting at Bombay. Sir E'd. is now come out with his fleett in good order, and the French must go into harbour in turn, as they are much in want of Repair. The Mahrattas peace is at last signed, General Mathews, on the Malabar Coast has taken Hyder Ali's Capital Mangalore, which was the principal port for his shipping, and together with Hyder's death will give a favourable turn to our affairs in that quarter. Sir Eyre Coote leaves this tomorrow for Madrass and I fancy means to go from thence to England, he is very much wore out and requires a little rest. Laurie is very well at Patna, I have not yett seen him, I intend going to Patna in the month of August which is the rainy season here, and he will come down with me in the month of September. By the time you receive this I hope to be appointed one of the Governor's Aid de Camps.

\* \* \* \* \*

## LETTER XV.

The *Worcester*, Indiaman (Captain Carr), was to have sailed for England in March, but was actually unable to do so until December, owing to the presence of Admiral Suffren's fleet in the Bay of Bengal. Whilst Sir Edward Hughes' fleet was lying idle in Bombay harbour throughout the cold weather of 1782-3, the French fleet was free to continue its ravages unchecked.

HYDERNAGAR, Hydergurh, or Haidergarh, in South Kanara. The modern name of this place is Hosangadi.

It will be observed that Mercer commences to write "Body Guard," but crosses out the second word and substitutes the word "Troop." This was probably done with the object of avoiding its confusion with the *Infantry* Body Guard.

It may be noted that during the first ten years or so of its existence the mounted Body Guard was variously designated, the Troop of Body Guards; the Troop of Horse Guards; the Troop of Black Cavalry; the Governor-General's Troop; the Body Troop; and the Governor-General's Body Guard

The official Indian Army List states that the last mentioned title, "which was never formally conferred upon the corps, was first used in 1781." This is incorrect. General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, and a Member of the Supreme Council, refers to the corps as the "Governor-General's Body Guard" at a Council meeting held on 26th January, 1777.

No. XV.

*To Wm. Mercer Esq.*

CALCUTTA,  
29th March 1783.

My Dr. Father.

I wrote you by the Wooster but she is not yett sailed, and I find now there is a paquett to saill in a few days for Europe with an account of General Mathews' victory on the Mallabar coast, he has taken the whole Bidanore country with the strong fort of Hydernagar where he released three battallions of our Seapoys found eight thousand stand of new arms and one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with two fiftys and a sixty-four gun ships on the stocks with all their stores, this victory together with Hyder Ali's death, and the signing the Mahratta peace gives a favourable aspect to our affairs in this quarter of the globe. . . . I live entirely in the Governor's family and find myself very happy. Direct for me Lt. Mercer Governor's Body Gu [erased] Troop Calcutta. Sir Eyre Coote is certainly going home as his health will not permitt his staying here. As soon as you learn who is to succeed as Commander in Chief try and gett me some letters to him as they are of consequence in this country.

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#### LETTER XVI.

BUDGEROES—more properly Budgerows, are keelless barges, or house-boats, which were used for travelling on the Ganges. The after part of the boat was fitted up with cabins. Hastings' budgerow, according to the author of *Hartly House*, was known at Calcutta as "the budgerow of budgerows ;" and in a letter to his wife, dated 24th September, 1784, Hastings writes of it as "my beautiful budgerow."

MRS. HASTINGS appears to have suffered to a considerable extent from fever during the rainy season. At the date of this letter Hastings had already come to the determination of sending her home early in the following year, feeling fully convinced that another season in the country might prove fatal to her.

## No. XVI.

To Miss Mercer.

(Undated: probably despatched in either Sept. or Oct. 1783.)

I have now been long enough in the country to judge, and I think, the climate far from a bad one, to people who take care of themselves, to be sure it is terribly hott for six months but other four are very pleasant, and two rainy months are made pleasant by living on the river, where the Governor and all his family were for all that time, it is a noble river, and the accomodation in boats delightful, they are called Budgeroes and are the compleatest method of travelling I have yett seen. You may suppose so when familys go to live in them for months, the one I now live in, I mean this family, is a very pleasant one, the Governor is generally very much taken up with business, which the management of such an immense empire as this requires, when that is over he wishes to be a pleasant companion, and succeeds perfectly. Mrs. H. has been a charming woman, but has suffered by the heat of this climate. She proposes going home this year which I hope will entirely recover her, although we shall miss her much in the family.

\* \* \* \* \*

## LETTER XVII.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY—(1732-1809.) Called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1756. In 1773 was appointed to be the first Chief Justice of Bengal; knighted; and arrived in India the following year. Presided at the trial of Nuncomar in 1775. In 1780 was appointed by Hastings to be President of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, which appointment was denounced by the enemies of both as being in the nature of a bribe. There is, however, no proof that Impey derived any pecuniary benefit from this appointment. In January, 1783, he received his sentence of recall by the House of Commons in order to answer six charge of illegal conduct. He took his passage at once on the *Worcester*, but his departure was delayed until December. His impeachment at the bar of the House of Commons was commenced in 1787, but eventually abandoned. He died on the 1st October, 1809.

THE DEFINITE TREATY—*i.e.*, the treaty between the English and Tippoo Sultan, which was not finally signed until 11th May, 1784. On receipt of the news of the Peace of Versailles an armistice, which was to last for four months from 2nd August, 1783, was concluded with Tippoo Sultan. The latter, however, never actually abstained from hostile proceedings, and entirely disregarded the clause in the armistice which authorised the supply of provisions to the British garrison beseiged in Mangalore; even going so far as to carry on his preparations for the assault of that fortress.

GENERAL MATHEWS—was, as we have already seen, taken prisoner after the capitulation of Bednore, and sent to Seringapatam. In a letter, dated Bangalore, 10th April, 1784, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th May, 1784, General Mathews' name is given in a list of those who "Died at Seringapatam and Mysore." The following account of his death is extracted from "The Narrative of Mr. William Drake, formerly Midshipman of the *Hannibal*, and other prisoners taken last war, who have lately made their escape from Tippoo," which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 8th December, 1791.

"At Seringapatam, General Mathews was in confinement, James Skurry was sent for one day to the Cutcherry there, and some pewter plates, with marks on them, were shown to him to explain ; he saw on them words to this purport, I am indebted to the Malabar Christians, on account of the public service, forty thousand rupees ; the Company owes me (about) thirty thousand ; I have taken poison, and am within a short time of death ; whoever communicates this to the Bombay Government, or to my wife, will be amply rewarded.' (signed) Richard Mathews. Part of the Guard that were posted over the General have assured Mr. Drake and the others that poison was given to him in milk."

"JACK"—Capt. J. H. Dempster (see Letter V.).

The *Ann and Amelia*, a vessel of 600 tons, sailed from Portsmouth on 6 February, 1782, under command of Capt. John Popham, with orders to "remain in India." Mr. Robert Walker, the "Late Chief Mate" was buried at Calcutta on 28, November, 1783.

No. XVII.

To Mr. Dempster.

CALCUTTA,  
Dec. 1st 1783.

My Dr. Sir,

As Sir Elija Impey has been kind enough to offer to carry any letters I wished to send you I take this opportunity of writing you. I sent several letters by the *Narbudah* Capt. Rattray which I hope you will receive. We have not yett gott any information of the Definite Treaty being signed, but all is peace here. There are some reports of Tipo Sahib having again commenced hostilitys but it is but a report. General Mathews is also said to be dead, you may suppose we are very anxious to hear what is going on in Europe as it is near eight months since we have heard from that pert of the world. Jack has left Bombay on his way to China and I hope you will soon have him in England. There was a great storm at Madrass on the change of the monsoon in which thirty ships of different sorts were lost the *Ann and Amelia* was the only large one.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Series V.

## INTRODUCTION.

FROM JAN. 1784, TO THE CLOSE OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

The remaining 13 months of Hastings' stay in India were anxious and busy ones for him, and his mind was occupied with cares both private and official, with worries from England as well as internal.

In the first place he had to reconcile himself to the separation from his "beloved Marian," whose state of health, as has previously been noted, necessitated her immediate departure for England. To what extent this parting preyed upon his mind may best be gathered from a perusal of the letters written to his wife during the period which elapsed before he himself was able to embark for England.

His own health also was not of the best, and he writes to his wife on 19th February, 1784 :—"My Sickness, though in no Stage of it portending any Thing like Danger, has proved of a very obstinate Kind. Its worst Symptoms were a Want of Appetite and a deadly Langour." Again, on 1st March, he writes :—"On the 9th of February I was attacked with a troublesome Indisposition which hung upon me with a slow Fever and deadly Langour to the 19th "

His public, as well as private, relations with the three Members of the Supreme Council (Wheler, Macpherson, and Stables) were at this period considerable strained, all three of them opposing him in Council on every possible occasion. In addition to this Hastings knew that his enemies at Home were making the most of their time and were openly impugning his conduct ; and he lived in daily expectation of receiving by the Overland Packet orders of recall, and news of the appointment of his successor. This, as a matter of fact, would have been in accordance with his wishes, as during the preceding year he had sent home a despatch to the Court of Directors by the *Surprize* Packet, announcing his intention of resigning office, and requesting that his successor might be nominated.

What, however, did give him cause for apprehension was the possibility that Lord Macartney, his arch-enemy, might be appointed to succeed him, or failing him, one of the three Members of Council, all of whom he considered to be incompetent and absolutely unfitted for the post.

A rumour to the effect that news had been received in Bombay from England that Lord Macartney was to become Governor-General, Francis second Member of Council, with the right of succeeding to the Chair, and General Richard Smith Commander-in-Chief actually reached Calcutta in February and was forwarded to Hastings, then on his way to Lucknow, by Wheler and Stables. Hastings however placed no credence in it, recognising it as a fabrication of his enemies. He writes to his wife on 24th February,



immediately after receiving the letter containing the above rumour :—"I would give One half of my Life for the Certainty of beginning the other Half with you tomorrow. But I would not wish even for the immediate Possession even of such a Blessing at the Purchase of such a Mortification as to be thrust out of my Seat by such Fellows as Lord Macartney, Mr. Francis and General Richard Smith."

## LETTER XVIII.

COX' ISLAND, from which this letter is dated, and where the *Atlas*, in which Mrs. Hastings embarked for England, was lying, (Vide following letter.) was close to Kedgerree. There is no place of this name at the present day, but it is frequently mentioned as a safe anchorage for the company's vessels in the records of the latter half of the 18th century. It was variously known as Coxe Island or Cocks Island (see article in *Bengal : Past and Present*. Vol. XXXII. p.p. 84-91 : "A Forgotten Island in the Bay of Bengal"). Capt. David Tolmé of the *Resolution* reported on October 20, 1783, from the Sand Heads that his ship was "at last safe out after a most tedious passage from Culpee to Cock's Island."

Mrs Hastings, accompanied by the Governor-General, had left Calcutta in their budgerow on 2nd January and proceeded as far as Kalpi, 48 miles down the river. Here they transhipped into a pinnace in which the remaining 20 miles of the journey to Kedgerree was performed. Kedgerree is thus 68 miles below Calcutta, and, Mercer tells us (vide following letter), that "Cox's Island [is] about a hundred miles below Calcutta."

THE KING was the Emperor Shah Alam Who, in 1783, had conferred titles of honour on both Hastings and Mrs. Hastings. According to the *Morning Chronicle* for 5th October, 1784, Mrs. Hastings' titles were as follows :—"Royal and Imperial Governess, Elegance of the Age, Most exalted Bilkiss (Queen of Sheba), Zobaide of the Palaces, Most Heroic Princess, Ruby, Marian Hastings Sauby (Sahiba), &c., &c. . . ."

With reference to Mercer's statement to the effect that the title of Begum "was never before given to any European," it is interesting to note that the wife of the Rev. William Johnson, Chaplain of Calcutta at this period, was known as "Begum Johnson." Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* writes, "The Rev. Wm. Johnson, her fourth husband, left India for good in February, 1788, and she remained behind for nearly a quarter of a century longer dispensing as the 'Begum Johnson' a 'dignified hospitality'." This lady, who had been a prisoner of Suraj-ud-Daula at Moorshedabad in 1756, was, when she died in 1812 the oldest European resident in Bengal.

Mrs. Hastings' jewels formed the subject in England of much controversy as well amongst the friends as amongst the enemies of the Governor-General ; the latter of course affecting to see in them the fruits of numerous bribes and

presents illegally taken from both Natives and Europeans in India. The importation into England of the black velvet riding habit trimmed with pearls appears, according to the following extract from S. C. Grier's *The Letter of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, to have been prohibited entirely :—

"Among Hastings' miscellaneous papers in the British Museum is a list of goods belonging to her which were either prohibited or detained on arrival. Her muslin gowns were merely detained, but everything made of silk was prohibited, as well as a velvet riding-habit worked with pearls, and various dresses, curtains and stuffs containing gold or silver thread. She seems, in fact, to have been threatened with the loss of all her own clothes—save those she had taken on shore with her at Portsmouth—and all the articles she had brought for presents. Not until the beginning of the next year is Scott able to announce that the Directors have remitted the Company's duties, £250, on Mrs. Hastings' things, and paid the King's duties, amounting to £875, for her."

## No. XVIII.

To Miss Mercer.

Cox' ISLAND,

Jan. 7th 1784.

My Dr. Annie

I shall begin by telling you I have not recd. one letter from Europe, since I arrived in India which is now fourteen months, you will scarce believe that I am now almost as cold, as you are in Europe, to be sure six months in the year are very hott here, but the other six is very pleasant and in some degree makes up for the hott ones. We have now ice in great plenty I don't mean to skate on, but we have always ice creams after dinner, in short it is by no means a bad country and were all my friends here I should never ask to leave it. Mrs. Hastings is now on her way to England she is a very pleasant well bred woman, I do not know how she will bear the change from being a Queen in this country, to become a private individual at home, she has been dignified by the King here with the title of Begum which signifies Queen, and was never before given to any European. I do not think she goes home very rich, although she has an immense quantity of jewels, she has one dress which you will probably hear talked of in England, it is a black velvet riding habit trimmed with pearl, the Epollett, and buttons are diamonds, it is worth I suppose about twelve thousand pounds. Laurie came down from Patna and stayed with me three weeks, he is perfectly well and is very little changed by the climate he is returned to Patna I hear from him generally once a week. I have wrote my father about Graeme and hope soon to see him here. There is no prospects at present of making fortunes in a hurry in India, but we are sure of being able to live like Gentlemen.

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## LATTER XIX.

The *Atlas*, by which this letter was despatched, sailed on Saturday, 10th January, and anchored in the Thames on 5th August, having first touched at Portsmouth where Mrs. Hastings, and probably the mails also, were landed.

With regard to the private fortune supposed to have been accumulated by Hastings during his tenure of Office, Hastings himself writes to his wife on 13th August, 1784:—"Another Year in India will disqualify me to leave it, by the Want of Means to pay my Passage."

CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD SWINTON—Ensign, 1 Aug., 1759: Lieut., 10 Sept., 1761: Capt., 18 Oct., 1763: Resigned, 23 Jan., 1766. In 1763 he was given the command of the newlyraised 10th Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry (afterwards 1st Bn. of the 6th) formed from independent companies at Midnapore. This Battalion was known as "Soolteen-ki-paltan"—Soolteen being the native corruption of Swinton. It was re-numbered as the 3rd B.N.I. in 1824 and mutinied at Phillour in May, 1857. For some account of Swinton see *Bengal : Past and Presents*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 13—38.

John Stables, as we have already seen, was at the same period in command of the 15th Battalion of Bengal Native Infantry.

## JONATHAN DUNCAN—(1756-1811.)

Born, 15 May, 1756. Arrived in Calcutta in H.E.I. Co's Service in 1772. On Oct. 4, 1782, he was appointed Superintendent of the *Mazuli Daftar*—"an office formerly kept up for the examination and adjustment of disputed accounts or outstanding balances, especially those of officers who had been dismissed, or were chagrined with embezzlement or with undue exaction." (Cf. Sir W. W. Hunter's *Bengal records*.) A few weeks later he was deputed to Patna for the purpose of forming a new Settlement of the Mahals of Rajah Kalian Sinh. Early in 1788 he was made Resident and Superintendent at Benares; and Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated Calcutta, 3rd March, 1788, writes:—"I have received the greatest satisfaction from the close application to business and the judicious conduct of Mr. Duncan, in his station of Resident of Benares." On 27th December 1795 he was appointed Governor of Bombay and held that post for 16 years, until his death on 11th August, 1811. He was buried at Bombay, his monument in St Thomas's Cathedral bearing the inscription, "He was a good man and a just," and on a scroll the word, "Infanticide abolished in Benares and Kattiawar." (Cf. *Dict. Ind. Biog.*)

GRAEME MERCER—did not receive his appointment an assistant Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment until January 18, 1789.

## No. XIX.

Jany. 7th 1784.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

My Dear Father

I am now on the river going down with Mrs. Hastings on her way to England where she will arrive about the time you receive this. The people I suppose will make a great noise about her fortune, I believe it very moderate and to consist principally of her jewels which to be sure are very valuable. The Governor might certainly have had, ten times the fortune he now has, but he has no idea of the value of money, they are both people that I have received great civilities from, I have now lived a year in their family and like them better every day I have known them. I had a letter from Laurie yesterday, I have asked the Governor to remove him to Calcutta, and to appoint him a member of a Board of Inspection which is now going to be appointed here, if that committee is formed I have reason to believe he will be one of them. I mentioned to you before the civilities I had received from Mr. Stables, although you are unacquainted with him, I beg you will write him to thank him for his friendship to me, it will be well taken, and if he remains in this country will be of use to me, gett Capt. Swinton also to write Mr. Stables respecting me he is a very old friend and favourite of his, they were long together in this country. I hope by this time you have gott Graeme appointed a Surgeon on the Bengal eastabishment. I have gott a very good house in Calcutta, where I hope to see him soon. Jonathan Duncan and I live together at present, and Laurie if he comes down will make the third, he will sure to find some of us in Calcutta whenever he comes, and I should think the cooner he comes the better, however you are best judge, only gett him appointed as soon as possible whether he comes or not, as rank is of consequence here.

We are just now going on board the *Atlas* at a place called Cox's Island about a hundred miles below Callcutta, and the ships will sail today or tomorrow, when the Governor and all the party will return to Callcutta. Give my love to my Mother and all the family and Believe me to be your Affectionate Son.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

I am still in the same situation as when I last wrote you, there has been no vacancy in the Governor's family, I am still in waiting to be appointed an Aid de Camp, you must direct for me Governor General's, Callcutta.

COX'S ISLAND

Jany. 8th 1784.

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## LETTER XX.

Hastings arrived at Lucknow on 27 March 1784, after a stay of five days at Benares. Writing to his wife from Lucknow on 13 August, he says that he "cannot suppress some very uneasy Reflexions" upon the change in his health since his visit to Chunar in 1781. "The last Sixteen Months that we passed together were a Period of continued illness or of a Habit laboring under the Effects of illness." On 25 August, he writes "I have surmounted all the obstacles of my Departure and shall adhere to the Day, which is that after to-morrow."

## No. XX.

*To Wm. Mercer Esq.*

13700

CALLCUTTA,  
November, 30th 1784.

My Dr. Father

I have received several letters for which I return you a thousand thanks. The Governor did me the honor to appoint me one of his Aid de Camps in February last at which time we left Calcutta and went to Lucknow, which is the capital of the Nobob of Oude's country, and about eight hundred miles from Calcutta. I rode the whole way and we arrived there about the end of March, the Governor staid there six months, attempting to settle the country and putt the Nabob in a mode of paying his debtp to the company which amounts to 52 lacs of rupees or about six hundred & fifty thousand pounds, the whole by his scheme will be paid by August 1785. Mr. Hastings is so much displeased by the treatment he has mett with from home, that I am afraid he is determined to return home soon, indeed his health requires it, he only wishes to have a successor appointed whom he may initiate in the line of bussiness before he quits it. I wish to God a proper man may be appointed, whoever succeeds, will find all his abilities requisite by coming after a man beloved by all the natives, and dreaded and respected by all the foreign powers, his perfect knowledge of the language and the people have been of great use to him in his negociations with the country powers, in short very few are equal to the task of succeeding him. However I hope he will not leave this until the end of 85 or beginning of 86 when matters will be probably more settled both here and at home. Should he remain here any time, I have reason to hope I may gett some employment that may enable me to think of home, in the course of ten or twelve years, at any rate I shall be able to make my way here. I have gott a tolerable knowledge of the Persian language which is of great use in this country and spoke but by few Europeans. I spent three weeks with Laurie on my way down, the Governor was also two days with him at Patna. Capts. Maitland, Baillie, and Gardner of

the King's troops leave this tomorrow on their way to Bombay, from whence they propose going home over the desert. Mr. Wheler the second in Council here died October last universally lamented, the Governor is far from well, Mr. McPherson must soon quitt the country he has been ill this some time. Mr. Stables is very well, I lived in his house all last month but have now gott a house of my own, where there is a room for Graeme when he chuses to come out. The ships will sail from here in the months of December Jany. & Feby. but the *Surprise* Packett will probably be home long before any of them, I shall write by the ships as they are dispatched. There is a great many people going home this year, who has remained in India some time, from the danger of being taken during the War. I beg my love to my Mother and that you will bellieve me.

Your Affectionate Son  
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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No. XXI.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALLCUTTA,  
4th December 1784.

My Dr. Annie

I received yours dated Nov. '83. I have had a long trip up the country which I have wrote my father of, and returned to Callcutta the beginning of last month. I was six months at Lucknow which was formerly a very rich place, but is now very much exhausted, there are still however, the remains of grandeur. Three months of the year a hott wind blows that takes off the skin wherever it touches, there is no going out, but by means of roots of grass made into skreens which are putt before the doors and windows and kept constantly wett, the air is rendered as cooll as you could wish, at the same time that out of the house, the wind would roast an egg, and all the people crowd round the skreens to cooll themselves as you do round a fire in winter to warm yourselves, however, these winds blow only up the country, and not in Callcutta and very little in Patna where Laurence lives very happily. I came down from Lucknow by watter which is much the pleasantest mode of travelling in this country. Laurence's house is on the side of the Ganges and a very pleasant situation. I goott a present from Mrs. Hastings of a bottle of otre of roses, which is the best this country can produce. As I know you are an economist I shall send it you by Martin Lindsay, and it will serve you for perfume until I come home which will probably be eight or ten years hence. This is the pleasantest season here there is nothing but private and Public Balls going on. I am five days in the week in Callcutta and two at the Governor's Gardens, which is about four miles from twon, and from whence I now write it is a delightfull situation. The

amusements of a day are these, at break of day we gett a horseback ride untill the sun rises, go to breakfast about half past six dine at two, lay down on a couch about four where we take a nap untill the sun setts, then everyone gets out in carriages for a little fresh air, come home dress, amuse yourself by dancing, paying visits, cards, chess &c. &c. There are only four months in which the climate admits of dancing *viz.*, Nov. to the end of February. As to the consequences of the present Governor's removal to Laurie and myself Laurence has a fixed appointment which they cannot alter without his deserving it, as to your humble servant, if the Governor's successor is upon any terms with him, he must provide for his family, in short I think I shall be able to gett something happen what will. Let me hear from you as often as opportunity offers. Give my love to Hannah and the rest of the family and Believe me Your Affectionate Brother.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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## LETTER XXII.

The *Berrington* arrived at Plymouth on 15 June. Hastings was accompanied on his voyage by his friends David Anderson, (who had negotiated the treaty of Salbai with the Mahrattas in 1782), and Col. Sweny Toone, the first commandant of the Body Guard (who was subsequently a Director of the Company from 1800 to 1830): and also by his medical attendant Dr. Clement Francis, his Aid-de-Camp. Capt. William Sands, Capt. Jonathan Scott (the brother of Major Scott Waring, his agent in England) and John Shore (the future Governor General).

No. XXII.

To Miss Mercer.

On board the *Berrington*  
below CALCUTTA,  
Feby. 5th 1785.

My Dr. Annie

Although I have no news of you I must write as I have so good an opportunity. I am sorry Mr. Hastings has at last determined to go home. I left Calcutta with him on the first of the month, and he is now on board the *Berrington* on his way to Europe. He will be much missed here, he is the pleasantest man I ever lived with. I shall return to Calcutta as soon as the ship sails which I suppose will be to-morrow. Had Mr. Hastings remained in this country I should probably have been enabled to return home a few years sooner than I now expect, however I like the country very well and have not had an hour's illness since I arrived in it so I have no reason to complain.

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## No. XXIII.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

On Board the *Berrington*,  
Feb. 5th 1785.

My Dr. Father

I am now on the most unpleasant trip I have had since I came to India, which is attending Mr. Hastings, who is now on Board of Ship in his way to Europe. He disapproves so much of Mr. Pitt's Bill, that he determined not to remain in India for its arrival. This country has lost in him the best friend it ever saw. His leaving Callcutta was the most solemn scene I ever beheld, he is universally regretted by Black and White, he will have arrived in England by the time you receive this, as it goes by the *Berrington*. Mr. Macpherson is left Governor here, but I suppose we shall have another appointed as soon as Mr. Hastings' resignation is known. The minds of people here are much exasperated by Mr. Pitt's Bill, taking it for granted that every one in India commences Vill—n (? villainy) as soon as he arrives. Laurence is perfectly well at Patna, there have been considerable reductions made here but they have not affected him. Direct for me still at Callcutta I do not know yett whether Mr. Macpherson will appoint me one of his Aid-de-Camps or not. I shall write you again in the course of three weeks or a month, when things are more settled. I shall return to Callcutta as soon as the ship sails, we are now about a Hundred miles below Callcutta at a place called Sagor Island.

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## No. XXIV.

To Miss Mercer.

CALLCUTTA,  
August 6th 1785.

My Dr. Annie

I received yours of August '84. From your last letters from home we expect Graeme here in the course of this season, although prospects are not so flattering as they were a while ago, yett we shall manage to gett on somehow or other. I have built a small house about four miles from Callcutta, where I live very retired, I have gott a room for Graeme whenever he chuses to take possession of it.

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## LETTER XXV.

The *Hinchinbroke*, Capt. Arthur Maxwell, was "lost in the Bengal river" on April 10, 1785.

"The late Act of Parliament—Pitt's India Act of 1784, which established the Board of Control and deprived the Court of Directors of Political power, setting up a Committee of Secrecy of three Directors through whom all important communications to the Board were sent. This Act was the ultimate cause of Hastings' resignation: "I have seen read and abstracted it", he wrote to Major Scott Waring, his agent in England, on 27 December 1784, "and it has determined me." "The Great Retrenchments that have taken place." John Macpherson who acted as Governor-General from 8 February until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis on 12 September 1785, effected some financial economies chiefly in the reduction of salaries. But Cornwallis went very much further. He forbade the Civil Servants of the Company from engaging in private trade, and restricted them to the receipt of a fixed private salary. In one case, that of the Resident at Benares, these extra emoluments amounted to four lakhs of rupees a year.

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No. XXV.

To Wm. Mercer Esq.

CALLCUTTA,  
August 7th 1785.

My Dr. Father

I wrote you a long letter by the *Hinchinbroke*, but she was lost going out of the river. This Government has been in a very unsettled state ever since Mr. Hastings left it. A few days since Lord Macartney's appointment of Governor-General arrived here, but it is not thought he will accept of it, and that he will proceed to Europe in the *Swallow* which leaves this in a few days, it is to be determined this day in Council. The late Act of Parliament has occasioned a great noise in this country, and there is a petition preparing against it. From the great retrenchments that have taken place here lately, the minds of men are dissatisfied, and not much disposed to bear the reproach of delinquent &c. &c., when they have scarcely sufficient left to live upon. I shall send Mr. Dempster the proceedings of the meeting, as it may enable him to form a judgement of the probable consequences here. I am much in the same situation as when I wrote you last a Lieut. of the Governor's Troop. I live mostly in the country about four miles from Calcutta, where I find it cheaper having nothing to do in town.

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## No. XXVI.

*To his brother, James Mercer.*

August 12th. (1785.)

70 miles below CALCUTTA.

My Dear James

When you write me Direct to me Governor General's Troop, since Mr. Hastings left this, I am no longer Aid-de-Camp but I remain in the Troop. I came down here with Mr. Stables to see Lord Macartney on Board the *Swallow*, and they will sail tomorrow, I shall return to Calcutta in three or four days.

\* \* \* \* \*

## No. XXVII.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALCUTTA,

Novr. 12th 1786.

My Dear Annie

Graeme arrived here in perfect health. I went up with him to Patna, where I left him with Laurence, they are both well. Graeme can do nothing for himself here untill he is appointed in the service. The people here say that Graeme is very like what I was when I came out, *entre nous* I think I look tollerably well. I am sure I am in as good health as ever, and as to the rest I am not very anxious.

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## No. XXVIII.

*To Miss Mercer.*

Eighty miles bellow Calcutta,

Jany. 16th 1787.

Dear Annie

I am now going down the River to see Mr. Stables on Board the *Talbot* on his way to England. I have lived with him almost entirely since Mr. Hastings left this and I am very sorry to part with so good a friend.

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## No. XXIX.

*To Miss Mercer.*CALCUTTA,  
March 6th 1787.

The Governor, Lord Cornwallis, proposes going up the country in July next, and I suppose the Body Guard will attend him, in which event, I shall have the pleasure of meeting Laurence and Graeme at Patna and shall probably be absent from home five or six months.

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## LETTER XXX.

MRS. CHAMPION.—Anna Forbes married Joseph Champion, writer on the Bengal establishment, at Calcutta on May, 12, 1780, and died at that place on October 22, 1791, aged 28 years.

## No. XXX.

*To Miss Mercer.*CALCUTTA,  
Decr. 22nd 1788.

My Dear Annie

As we are all together at present, and trusting to each other writing, may not write at all, I shall therefore just give you a short account of the alteration that has taken place since I wrote you last. Give my love to our Mother, and tell her, I was married on the 6th of November to a Miss Forbes, a Scotts lassie from Banff, she is a very pleasant good little girl. Lord Cornwallis has acted in the most Honorable manner to Laurence, who stands very high in his opnion. His Lordship has appointed Laurence Collector of Burdwan, merely from his character and without any application from him, he has also appointed Graeme to the Service, in short we are all as happy as we can be at such a distance from our friends. Laurence goes to Burdwan in three or four days and Graeme goes up with him in the meantime. We have now gott so near each other, that we can be frequently together, Burdwan is but eighty miles from Calcutta, which we thing nothing of in this country. My little wife Jesires her love to you, she is Daughter to a Mrs. Forbes of Gask Banff, and was living with her Sister Mrs. Champion. Should you meet with

any of the Family, who are very numerous, I need scarcely ask you to shew them attention.

Belliev me ever  
your Affecte. Brother  
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

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No. XXXI.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALLCUTTA,  
8th March 1789.

My Dear Annie

I write you merely because this goes by the last ship of the season, but a packett will be despatched in August. Laurence is at Burdwan we shall go up to him in a few days to spend a month or two of the hot weather with him, and return here in the month of May, soon after which we shall expect George's arrival with Capt. Dempster. Graeme is at present with us attending the General Hospital. I wrote you before that his Lordship had appointed him to the Service in Jany. last. I wrote you before of my marriage, she is an excellent good girl and we live very happy, and very retired, neither of us being fond of publick places we have not been to one this season. A brother of Barbara's Mr. John Forbes lives at Hawthornden near Edinburgh.

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No. XXXII.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALLCUTTA,  
November 1st 1789.

My Dear Annie

I wrote you by the *Swallow* packett which left this on the 20th of August, and on the 26th your sister was safely delivered of a son, the mother and boy are quite well and write in love to our Mother and you all. Laurence came down here on the 10th of October, and he agreeing with me in wishing to call my little boy, after our Blessed father, he was accordingly christened William on the 17th October. Laurence and Jonathan Duncan were his God-fathers, the two first Characters I think in India, if he follows the steps of either I shall be perfectly satisfied. . . . Graeme's situation at present is a good one, Surgeon to the Embassy at the Nizam's Court, it is not likely to be permanent, however his own abilities and the universal esteem he is held in will ever insure him some good situation.

## No. XXXIII.

*To Mrs. Mercer.*

CALLCUTTA,  
Novr. 6th 1789.

My Dearest Mother

I am sure it will give you great satisfaction to know that Laurence's situation is an excellent one, and that he is universally respected, and in great favour with his Lordship. Graeme's present appointment much beyond his expectation, and that his Lordship has declared his intention to serve me as soon as an opportunity offers. In short( there are few families can boast the same countenance, shewn to them as we have under the present Government. Laurence's principles, you know will prevent his ever making a shilling that he cannot avow in the face of the world. He at present saves at least a Thousand Pounds a year. . . . Barbara joins me in Sincere Love and Esteem for our Mother and I am ever.

your Affecte. Son.

(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

## No. XXXIV.

*To Miss Mercer.*

BURDWAN,  
August 1st. 1790

My Dear Annie

Graeme is still at the Nizam's Court the appointment at Burdwan is still kept vacant for him, but I hope he will remain some time where he is, as his allowances are good, and an Army is the best school for practice. We have been here with Laurence since the beginning of April and intend returning home about the end of September. As to my own situation, it is by no means splendid, but as I Bellieve his Lordship is inclined to serve me, and the War will detain him another year in this Country, it is possible something may occur in that time. I am more anxious for it now, as I should like to have something to leave to my little boy. As there has been an order sent out here lately to send home all people, who have quite their ships in this country, if Tom cannot get permission from the Court of Directors to come out in an English ship, he had better come out in a Foreign Ship. Very lucky for Graeme, the order does not go so far back as '86 otherwise he would have found a difficultly in escaping.

## LETTER XXXV.

The First Mysore War (1767-1769) and the Second Mysore War (1781-1785) having failed to check the growing power of Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sultan. Lord Cornwallis resolved to conduct operations in person. The immediate cause of the third Mysore War was the invasion by Tippoo, in December 1789, of the territories of the Rajah of Travancore. Sir William Medows, the Governor of Fort St. George, commenced hostilities in Coimbatore and Dindigul but the results were indecisive. Cornwallis who had previously arranged for the Co-operation of the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Hyderabad, arrived accordingly in Madras with a considerable reinforcement on 12 December 1790.

The Body Guard embarked at Diamond Harbour on 24 and 25 December, 1790, on board the *Casamaijor*. On 16 January 1791 the vessel was obliged to put in at Vizagapatam for water: and arrived at Madras three days later.

No. XXXV.

*To Miss Mercer.*

12th Novr. 1790.

My Dear Annie

After spending six months very pleasantly at Burdwan, we left it on the 12th of last month, and have been since very snug at the Gardens, but we are now on the move again. His Lordship not approving entirely of the management of the War on the Coast, has resolved to proceed to Madras, and we are under orders to be ready to embark, about the end of the month. My little Wifey, not being accustomed to a separation, is a little low on the occasion. I have however convinced her that it is the best thing that can happen to me, and her good sense will assist her in getting the better of it. I have written to Laurence to request he would come down and carry away his sister, and little William up to Burdwan, where they will remain during my absence, and my mind will be more at ease when they are under Laurence's protection than any where else. Indeed I am very happy in having such a house to leave her in. Laurence has some symptoms of the Gout hanging about him, and he has left of wine for some time, since which he has been much better. Graeme is still with the Resident at the Nizam's Court, and continues to enjoy perfect health. I hope we shall see George next season, and should like to know what ship he is to come out in. I suppose we shall be at least six or eight months absent from Bengal, and possibly a longer time. You may suppose I do not much like the idea of parting with Barbara and William, but a soldier must not give way to these feelings, and I shall enjoy their company the more on my return, and Laurence who is very partial to them will show them every attention in his power. It is very lucky for me and for them too that I have such a Brother to send them to.

## LETTER XXXVI.

The third Mysore War opened before the arrival of Lord Cornwallis with an action at Satyamangalam on September 13, 1790. Siege was laid to Bangalore on March 6, 1791, and the town was taken on March 21. This was followed by the battle of Arikera on May 14. The siege of the hillfort of Nandidrug was begun on September 22, and the place capitulated on October 18. Penagra, in the Baramahal, was stormed on October 31 : but Colonel Maxwell failed on November 8 to seize Krishnagiri. Severndrug, or Savandrug, a stupendous rock-fortress 4,000 feet above sea level, was, however captured in December : and Hutridrug, or Utradrug, was taken by escalade on the 24th of the same month. Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo, was next invested and on February 19, 1792, the Sultan sued for peace. This he was compelled to purchase by the surrender of half his dominions, the payment of over three millions of rupces, the release of all prisoners, and the delivery of two of his sons, Moiz-ud-din and Abd-ul-Khalik, as hostages. The last clause in the treaty furnished several artists with a subject for a painting. Mercer, as we shall see from Letter XXXVIII. was obliged by bad health to return to Bengal at the end of 1791.

*Venkatigiri*—Stands at the foot of the Venkatagiri-Amboor Ghat or pass leading to Bangalore. Amboor or Amboorghur is a fortified hill. It was visited in April 1792 by the artists Thomas Daniell and his nephew William.

## No. XXXVI.

To Miss Mercer.

Camp at VINKETTIGHERRY,

(VENKATAGIRI)

near AMBOOR.

(Undated : probably between 18th & 22nd  
April, 1791.)

My Dear Annie

We have now been in the Field near three months, we have taken Bangalore, the second place in strength in Tippoo's dominions, and are now preparing to proceed to the Capital Seringapatam, which we hope to gett possession of before the setting in of the rains, they begin in June. I have no idea as yet when I shall gett back to Bengal. I write this to have the pleasure of informing you that I had a letter this morning from Tom, dated Madrass April 14th. . . . As I am busy preparing for a long march, it will plead my apology for the shortness of this.

## LETTER XXXVII.

The following is an extract from a letter written by his brother Thomas, dated Benares, 13th March, 1792.

After alluding to the war with Tippoo Sultan he writes :—

"His Lordship's life has been often in danger. William had once the good fortune to save him by cutting down three of Tippoo's Coolies (? *Looties*) who rushed in upon the Body Guard and aimed at his Lordship. William has got great credit for his conduct in this particular but whether or not it will be of any material service to him, a short time will determine."

The occurrence took place on 5 March, 1791, at Bangalore. Two or three of the enemy's cavalry, drugged with *bhang*, approached unseen and made a sudden rush at the Governor-General and his staff. The men were instantly surrounded : one was wounded, and the other two sieged.

OUSOORE OR HOSUR : now in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency and formerly a place of military importance from the fact that it commands all lines of communication between the twelve (*bara*) forts in the Baramahal and Mysore. It is 25 miles by road from Bangalore on the N. W. The fort which lies to the west of the town, was given up by Tippoo's troops to the British under Major Gowdie on July 15, 1791. When it was visited by Thomas and William Daniell in May 1792, it was occupied by a small British force under Capt. Chase : but it was subsequently handed back to Tippoo.

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No. XXXVII.

To Mrs. Duncan (*nee Miss Mercer*).

Camp near OUSOORE

August 4th 1791.

My Dear Annie

Last night I received a letter from James of the 29th Jany. and I take the first opportunity to congratulate you on your marriage with Mr. Duncan. Tell James I shall write him when we take Seringapatam which I hope will be before the end of the year. I shall be very happy when the War is over, that I may be able to return to Bengal. Your Sister lost her little boy on the 31st March, which distressed her very much. I had a letter yesterday from Tom at Burdwan, Laurence is in good health, I hear constantly from Graeme who is still with the Nizam. I wrote you from Madrass and sent Graeme's picture to Hannah. Ever since that time we have been fighting and starving, but we have however been successful in all our attempts, the accounts of which I must refer you to the papers for. We are now preparing to attack the Enemy's Capital Seringapatam, but the season will not admitt of our advancing until the month of November. We are at present near Oussore about 180 miles to the Westward of Madrass. I expect to have several letters from you by the



ships of this season, as no change of state will be any apology to me for not hearing from you. I am My Dear Annie

Yours every Affecty.  
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

### LETTER XXXVIII.

Laurence Mercer died at Burdwan on August 20, 1791. In spite of the intention expressed by William Mercer in this letter, he disposed subsequently of the Pottershill.

No. XXXVIII.

*To Mr. Beveridge.*

CALCUTTA

Jany. 17th 1792.

My Dear Sir

The unfortunate Death of my Brother Laurence makes it necessary for me to request you will be kind enough to act as my Attorney, jointly with Mr. Duncan and Mr. Paton. In case of any accident happening to me, it is my intention to leave Potterhill to Mrs. Mercer for her life. Bad health obliged me to leave the Army but as I am now perfectly recovered, I shall join the Army again as soon as an opportunity offers, but as they have taken Swandroog, a strong Hill fort, on the road to Seringapatam, I fancy they will immediately proceed to the Capital, in which event, I shall not be able to join until September next. . . .

I am Dear Sir  
yours sincerely  
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

Please to Direct to Lieut. Mercer  
Govr. Gen.'s Body Guard  
Calcutta.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. XXXIX.

*To Mr. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA

Jany. 17th 1792.

My Dear Sir

The unexpected death of poor Laurence, and my own bad health which obliged me to leave the Army has prevented my writing you until now. Accept of my hearty Congratulations on your change of state. . . . I am now so perfectly recovered, that I shall join the Army again, the moment

there is an opportunity. Swandroog a strong Hill fort about 80 miles from Bangalore and seventy from Seringapatam, was taken by them on the 21st December, and the Army will now proceed I fancy for the Capital, in which event, I shall not be able to join them before the month of September next. Although it is not a pleasant thing to part with a Wife still we Soldiers must do our duty. It is possible however the War may be finished by that time. . . . Mrs. Mercer joins me in wishing you and yours health and happiness and I am

My Dear Sir  
Yours Affecty.  
(Sd.) WM. MERCER.

No. XL.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA  
Jany. 18th 1792.

My Dear Annie

I have written Mr. Duncan concerning poor Laurence's affairs, as far as I know them yett. Since my return to Bengal I have gott quite well, and must therefore think of returning to the Coast again as soon as possible. Tom is at Benares with Mr. Duncan, and will I hope by his Assistance gett into some line there. George is still with us, and will gett a Birth as second Mate of the *Benares* when she goes to sea. Graeme is with the Nizam's Army, and by this time he has joined Lord Cornwallis, so we have all at least something in view.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. XLI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

CALCUTTA  
Feby. 21st 1792.

My Dear Annie

. . . . Graeme is well and has joined the Grand Army, and they are by this time attacking Seringapatam, the capture of which I hope will put an end to the War. Should it not, I will return to the Army I only wait his Lordship's orders, as I am now perfectly recovered. Nothing could make me so happy, as the probability of being able to spend the latter part of my days with you, I shall be satisfied with a competency, and we must hope for the best. Your sister is a good economist and will make a little go a great way.

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## LETTER XLII.

"They had an Action on the 6th Feby. at Seringapatam."—Lord Cornwallis encamped with his army on February 5, 1791, six miles to the N. of Seringapatam, and was joined by the main portion of the contingent sent by the Nizam of Hyderabad. On February 6 he determined to attack : and dividing his troops into three columns at night, succeeded after severe fighting in securing possession of the ford over the river Cauvery and in establishing him on the eastern part of the island on which Seringapatam is situated. On February 19, arrangements were made for an attack on both banks of the Cauveri. The Sultan's troops were driven back, and Tippoo on the 22nd sent envoys to the British camp.

No. XLII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA

March 11th 1792.

My Dear Annie

Although nothing new has occurred since I wrote you, as I promised to write you by the last ship I must perform. They had an Action on the 6th Feby. at Seringapatam, in which we lost a number of officers and men, but gained a complete victory. Peter Stewart the Provost's son was killed, he was a very good fellow. Graeme was not in the Action, his duty confined him to the Camp. I have not yet received his Lordship's orders but expect them in the course of a few days, which will determine my returning to the Army or not. I think it is most probable I shall about the month of June or July, nothing but an end being put to the War can prevent it as I am now quite well.

\* \* \* \* \*

P.S. I have just received a letter from his Lordship, saying that matters are come to such a Crisis, that they must be finished before I can possibly join, and therefore he does not wish to put me to the inconvenience or expense of returning to the Army, as he hopes to be himself in Bengal in the course of a few months, so I shall remain quietly in Bengal.

Yours ever

(Sd.) W. M.

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## No. XLIII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA

August 17th 1792.

My Dear Annie

Graeme is at present at Hyderabad. Tom is with Mr. Duncan at Benares, George is with us. Lord Cornwallis, after having settled everything on the Coast, arrived in Bengal on the 27th July in good health.

\* \* \* \* \*

August 20th.

You will have accounts, long before you receive this of the War being at an end here. So far from Graeme or I reaping any pecuniary advantage from it, that although I lived at Lord Cornwallis's table, and of course had no expense on that account, it cost me near £500 extra expense. But I have reason to believe, that his Lordship means to do something for me, before he leaves this. I have now been ten years expecting the same thing, and by this time have learnt to bear disappointments with patience. This is a very good country, but still not a home, and I should have very little pleasure in it, did I not still expect one day to be able to visit Pottershill, and your Sister is still more anxious to get home than I am. However I can assure you the moment I can ensure, anything like a competence I shall be impatient to cross the Bridge of Perth. You will see Mark Wood home this season, with a large fortune.

\* \* \* \* \*

## LETTER XLIV.

*George Mercer* (1772-1853) became an indigo-planter and manufacturer after leaving the Sea Service (see Letter LII). He returned to England in 1818, and bought the estate of Gorthy in Perthshire: and in 1837 went to Australia, where he was joined by his nephew William Drummand Mercer (see introduction), and engaged in business. On 12 September, 1810, he married Frances Charlotte Reid, the daughter of John Reid, a Surgeon on the Bengal establishment, and Ann Boileau, daughter of Simson Boileau of Dublin. Their son George Duncan Mercer (1814-1884) held a commission in the Bengal Army from 1833 to 1838 when he joined his father in Australia. Ann Mercers' three brothers were in the company's service: Lestock Robert Reid (1790-1878), Bombay Civil Service 1817-1850 and member of Council at that Presidency: Henry Soloman Reid (1792-1852) lieutenant 17th Bengal Infantry: and Charles Samuel Reid (1807-1876), Lieut.-General, Bengal Artillery. Mr. Laurence Mercer, C.I.E. the son of George Duncan Mercer, served in the Indian Forest Department from 1886 to 1918, and was president of the Research College at Dehra-Dun.

## No. XLIV.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA,

25th December 1792.

Graeme after passing three months with us here, left this on the 12th on his return to his station, at Hyderabad. Tom is very well, and seems very well satisfied with his situation, which promises very fair to be an advantageous one in the course of a few years, which is more than I can say of my own, as I have little hopes of getting anything at present, and my allowances are but a mere subsistence. George is gone to Madrass 3rd officer of the *Success Galley*, belonging to the Nabob of Arcott.

## LETTER XLV.

MR. TURNER.—Samuel Turner, a cousin of Warren Hastings on the mother's side, was appointed ensign in the Bengal Infantry in 1780 and shortly afterwards aide-de-Camp to Hastings, accompanying him on his visit to Benares in 1781, and his subsequent flight to Chunar. In 1782 he was given the command of the Body Guard: but in the year following was sent on an embassy to Tibet from which he returned in March 1784. On 30 January 1797, while still in command of the Body Guard he obtained permission to proceed to Europe: and Capt. Charles Fraser was directed to take charge of the Body Guard on 1 March 1797. He died in London on 2, January 1801 of a paralytic seizure: when according to the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* he had returned to England "about two years ago". As Fraser was not definitely appointed to command the Body Guard until 18 March 1799, it is possible that Turner went to Europe, returned to Calcutta and left finally in March 1799.

The Hon. CHARLES STUART—a son of Lord Bute: arrived in Calcutta in 1762 and appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in 1769. In 1770 he was nominated as one of the first twelve Supervisors and was Resident at Burdwan in 1772. He assumed office as Member of the Supreme Council on February 28, 1785 and resigned on January 21, 1793, when he was succeeded by Thomas Graham (writer 1769).

Capt. JOHN ULRIC COLLINS.—joined the Bengal Infantry as an ensign in July 1769: promoted to be captain in May 1780, major in 1794, Lieut.-colonel in July 1796, and colonel in May 1800. From 1795 to 1803 he was Resident at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia: and in 1806 was appointed Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, in succession to Col. William Scott. He died at Lucknow on 11 June, 1807. On 24 November 1790 he married at Calcutta Charlotte Wrangham, daughter of William

Wrangham, member of Council at St. Helena (see letter IV). The nickname of "King" Collins was given to him on account of his "Cold, imperious and overbearing manner." His tomb is in the old Protestant cemetery at Aminabad (Lucknow).

JAMES COSMO GORDON—was Town-Major of Fort William and Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Charles Stuart, member of Council. He died at Calcutta on 31 December, 1792.

WILLIAM LARKINS—Accountant-General at the Presidency, was an intimate friend of Hastings whose portrait by Romney he presented to the East India Company. It now hangs: in the Council-chamber at the India Office. He returned to Europe in the *Earl Talbot*, after twenty one years' service in Bengal, and died at Blackheath on 24 April 1800.

ARCHIBALD MONTGOMERIE—married on 10 May 1781 Maria Chantry, who is mentioned in some verses in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* as one of the subjects of a current Calcutta toast to "The Five Girls who grace India's Soil." The other four were Emma Wrangham (who married John Bristow), Nancy Sadlier (Mrs. Bruere), Eliza Crisp (Lady Shee) and an unidentified Miss H—d. When Mrs. Eliza Fay met Maria Chantry in Calcutta in December 1780, she was staying with Dr. Rowland Jackson, physician to the Company." Her son, Archibald Montgomerie junior died in Bengal on 31 January 1826 when "Commanding the Boglepore Hill Rangers." His uncle Alexander Montgomerie, commanded the *Bessborough* Indiaman from 1777 to 1788, and the *Bombay Castle* in 1793-1794.

MAJOR WILLIAM PALMER—was another of Hastings intimate friends. He acted as his Military Secretary for several years until he became Resident at Lucknow in 1782. From 1794 to 1798 he was Resident with Scindia and from 1798 to 1801 at Poona. Subsequently he commanded at Monghyr and Berhampore and died at the latter place on 20 May 1816. There is an unfinished picture by Zoffony at the India Office which represents him with his Indian wife—Bibi Faiz Bakhsh—and his younger children—one of whom was the famous "King" Palmer of Hyderabad, the father-in-law of Meadows Taylor.

No. XLV.

To Warren Hastings Esq.

CALCUTTA,  
25th January 1793.

Dear Sir

I hope by the time you receive this there will be an end to the persecutions and cruelties which politicks of a party have involved you in, and that a most honorable acquittal with the entire approbation of the disinterested part of mankind and the favour of your Sovereign will in some measure make amends for what you have suffered. During the time Mr. Turner and I were together I trusted to him informing you of what passed in this country.

Mr. Turner has been for some time past at Lucknow purchasing horses to remount the Body Guard having delivered over our horses to the Cavalry when we left the Coast. He is now gone to --- (illegible ? Jamighur) for the same purpose. Lord Cornwallis' new Regulations for the Civil Service are not yet published. I understand Sudder Courts of Odawlatt are to be established in each District to which appoints are to be made from the Provincial Judges. They are also to go Circuits through their Districts twice in the year. The Collectors are to have a fixed Sallary and no Judicial authority. The Salt Comptrolorship to be abolished, the Salt Department to be put under the Board of Trade.

Lord Cornwallis will return to Europe, in the course of this year or as soon as his successor is appointed. Mr. Stuart goes home by this Ship, the *Melville Castle*, he gave in his resignation on the 21st and Mr. Graham took his seat in Council. I still remain in the same situation which you did me the Honor of appointing me to, on my first arrival in this country, and I am now applying to get recommended or appointed to succeed Capt. Collins as Agents for Military Stores.

Permitt me to request, that you would again Honor me, with your countenance and support on this occasion, which would give me great confidence of success. Your former favors are the only apologies I can plead, for troubling you with this application.

Lieut. James Gordon, who was recommended by the Court of Directors to succeed Captn. Collins Died here the end of last month.

Mr. Larkins and Mr. Montgomery return to Europe this season. Major Palmer continues well and is still with Scindiah. It would appear presumption in me to enter into the politicks of this country, when the gentlemen who go home this year, and the numerous friends you have still here are so much better able.

I beg leave to present my respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Hastings, and I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir  
your most Obedt. Servant  
(Sd.) Wm. MERCER.

No. XLVI.

To Mrs. Duncan.

December 1793.

. . . George is gone up to settle with Tom where there is every prospect of his doing well. Graeme is with us, he is not determined whether he shall remain in Bengal or return again to Hyderabad, I hope the former.

## No. XLVII.

*To Miss Mercer.*CALCUTTA,  
Dec. 1st 1793.

My Dear Hannah

. . . . We have been residing in Calcutta these four months, as we found the Gardens damp, during the rains. House rent is very extravagant here, I pay at the rate of £300 a year for the House we are now in. We had a Scots party on Christmas day, and danced for three hours to a Bagpipe.

Jan. 2nd. 1794. I went last night to the New Years Ball where there was near three hundred people, and the night as cold as you could wish it.

## LETTER XLVIII.

DAVID SCOTT.—Director of the East India Company from 1793 to 1801 and again from 1814 to 1819: Chairman in 1796, and 1801, created a Baronet in 1819.

LORD DUNSINNON and LORD SWINTON.—Judges of the Scottish Court of Session. John (Lord) Swinton (died 6 January 1799) was a brother of Capt. Archibald Swinton (see Letter XIX). His son Col. William Swinton (1784-1853) served in the Bengal Army from 1799 to 1831, and was the father of Robert Blair Swinton (1829-1912), Madras Civil Service 1849-1874.

STEWART—Perhaps the Hon. Charles Stuart (see Letter XLV).

CAPT. SAMUEL TURNER, the commandant of the Body Guard, did not apply for permission to return to Europe until 30 January, 1797, nearly three years after this letter was written. The exact date of his departure is, however uncertain: his successor was not definitely appointed until 18 March 1799 (see Letter XLIV).

## No. XLVIII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*CALCUTTA,  
May 15th 1794.

. . . . I received a letter from Mr. David Scott to whom I applied for his interest, in getting appointed to succeed Capt. Collins. He says Lord Dunsinnon had applied to him in my favour, but the object was Beyond his mark, it certainly cannot be effected by any one individual, but may be by the joint interest of the number I have applied to. I should wish Lord Dunsinnon to be informed of the gratitude I feel for the Honor he has done me.



Could he and Lord Swinton be prevailed on to speak to Mr. Dundass, it might have great effect. If Mr. Hastings, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Stewart interest themselves in my favour, I should have little doubt of succeeding. I have some reason to hope, that the Duke of Gordon, through Mrs. M's friends may be applied to. Graeme is safely settled at Benares, I heard from him yesterday, he, Tom and George are perfectly well and doing well. I intend going to pay them a visit in the rains, and shall return to Calcutta about November in time to settle everything with Mr. Turner. He is to resign in December. Your sister is in good health and little Ann a fine stout child, she gott the small pox very easily, her Nurse took the infection from the child and Died of them.

#### LETTER XLIX.

SIR JOHN SHORE,—succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General on 28 October 1793 and sailed for Europe on 12 March 1798. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Teignmouth. As a subordinate official he was eminently successful: as a Governor-General he had the candour to acknowledge his own incompetence. "The fact is" he wrote on 9 March 1796, in a letter published in the first volume of his biography, "that the duties of my situation are too much, I fear, for me. Often have I wished that Lord Cornwallis were hear at the head of the administration, and that I were his co-adjutor, as formerly."

#### No. XLIX.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA GARDENS,  
Jan. 1st 1795.

Mr. Turner has in a very unhandsome manner delayed his resigning until Feby. although I have a written engagement from his to resign in December. It is not my interest to quarrel with him so I must put up with it in the mean time. Lady Shore arrived here last month, which will keep Sir John at least another year in India. I have just now Recd. a Note from Mr. Turner which gives me reason to doubt his going home this season, and will force me to prosecute him for damages, for his breach of engagement.

#### No. L.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALCUTTA,  
August 25th 1795.

My present income, will not allow of the smallest increase of expense. You will scarce believe me when I tell you that with an income

of £500 a year it is with the greatest economy, I can manage to support my family, decently. The enormous number of servants kept by everybody here, will in some measure account for it, mine which you will laugh at, when I say they are moderate, are above fifty, which costs me half my income, indeed they are the principal extravagant article. Here the table expenses, except wine are moderate, and as to Europe milinery &c. for the ladies, I thank God I know little about them, as your Sister makes everything for her own use. Children are expensive articles here, what with Midwives, Doctors, Christenings &c. they cost £100 by the time they are six months old. I mention these things to give you some idea of our expenses here, and I assure you, that I keep rather under than over the mark.

No. LI.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CALCUTTA,  
November 12th 1795.

I have no comfortable accounts to give you of my own situation. I have met with most cruel and unjust treatment, and although the Governor has promised me the first good appointment that becomes vacant, I have very little confidence in the promises of great men.

#### LETTER LII.

In the East India Register for 1798, Graeme Mercer, is shown as doing duty as assistant Surgeon at Benares: Thomas Mercer as "agent and indigo manufacturer" at Mirzapore, and George Mercer as carrying on the same occupation at "Haudeabad."

No. LII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

GARDENS CALCUTTA,  
March 8th 1796.

Graeme, Tom and George are all well. Tom resides at Mirzapore, about forty miles above Benares, Graeme at Benares, and George about thirty miles below Benares. The last season was unfavourable for their indigo, but I trust and hope the present one will make ample amends.

No. LIII.

*To Miss Mercer.*

CALCUTTA,  
May 6th 1796.

The new Arrangements for the Army arrived here some days since. The Body Guard, the Command of which I have been so long ex-

pecting, is ordered to be reduced. I am still in hopes I may get some good appointment. I am uncertain yet whether I shall get a step by the new Arrangements or not.

No. LIV.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

MOORSBEDABAD,

190 miles above Calcutta,  
July 2nd 1796.

My Dear Annie

By the new Arrangement of the Army here I have got the Brevet rank of Captn., and the Governor-General's Body Guard being reduced, the Commander in Chief Sir Robbert Abercrombie has appointed me Quarter Master to the 2nd Regt. of Cavalry which is at present at Cawnpore, eleven hundred miles from Calcutta, which I left on the 22nd June on my way to join that Regiment, and have got so far on our way. We go by water. Our crew consists of the Captn. and Mrs. Mercer the two young ones three women servants and about fifty men servants. We have our Pinnace like a small yacht, a Budgeroe smaller, and three baggage boats. I had a great desire to send Annie home this season, but this move will put it out of my power for a year to two to come, when I hope to be able to send her and Eliza at the same time.

#### LETTER LV.

William Mercer was appointed to the 2nd Bengal Native Cavalry as Quartermaster in June 1796 (as stated in Letter LIV). He was then posted to the 1st Cavalry in the same capacity and remained with that regiment until May 1800, when he was transferred as captain to the newly raised 5th Cavalry.

No. LV.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CAWNPORE,

(Undated. Written during  
April, 1797).

I am now situated at Cawnpore about a thousand miles above Calcutta. I have the command of a Troop of Cavalry, and Quarter Master to the 2nd Regt. Mrs. M. was brought to bed of a Son on the 16th Octr. at Graeme's at Benares, where I was obliged to leave her, when I came up here, and she and Annie came up here on the 1st of December. I have no letter from James this long time, when you see him or write to him, tell him it would be worth while to pay a good price for the rank of Lt. Colonel in a

Regt. in Bengal. The allowances are handsome, and would soon repay the sum he might pay for his Commission. The Batta of a Lieut. Col. in the Vizier's provinces where I now am amounts to £4 a day exclusive of other allowances. Graeme was at Lucknow with the Governor last month, and came on here to the young Trooper's Christening, he is now returned to Benares. The Climate here is much hotter and much colder than Calcutta, in the months of Dec. Jan. and Feby. we have good fires, in the months of April May & June we are sitting behind wet skreens.

No. LVI.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CAWNPORE,

15th Jany. 1798.

. . . Graeme is at present with the Governor at Lucknow. There have been the appearance of disturbances in this part of the country for some time past, which has kept us under orders of March, and all prepared to send our families down to Benares, in case of hostile measures taking place. I hope however, matters will be settled, a few days must now determine it. We have an Army here of about 15,000 men so we have not much to fear.

No. LVII.

*To Mrs. Duncan.*

CAWNPORE,

5th April 1798.

. . . Little Will is in good health, and very stout. Sir John Shore on leaving this gave Graeme a letter to his successor, which I hope will be of service to him.

The letters end here. As already stated, William Mercer was killed in a duel at Ghazipur on August 3, 1801: and is buried in the Ghazipur cemetery. His opponent was the Hon. Andrew Ramsay, younger brother of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie who was a member of the Civil Service and Commercial Resident at Ghazipur. The cause of the quarrel has not survived: but it is a remarkable fact that Mercer's nephew Graeme Ried Mercer of Gorthy married a niece of Ramsay. It is worth recording also that Ramsay's younger brother Henry, who was in the Company's marine service, fought a duel in China, as the result of which he was wounded in the head. He was trepanned after being brought to Europe and died after the operation on July 24, 1808, at the house in Aberdeen, of another brother, the Hon. William Maule.

V. C. HODSON.

# The Situation of the Dutch in Bengal.

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## PART III.—“ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS AFTER PLASSEY.”

The results of Plassey made the Dutch extremely jealous of English ascendancy in Bengal. Perhaps, they had never imagined that the English, their greatest commercial rivals in Bengal, would come off victorious over the Nawab's forces. But they were duped in their imagination and were really struck with surprise when they saw their rivals gaining renewed influence in politics and commerce after their victory at Plassey. Being desperate, they resolved at last to strike a blow for gaining a strong foothold in the commerce of the country. For some time, they were not in good terms with the Nawab and even hesitated to acknowledge his position in the same manner as that of his predecessors (95). The Nawab imposed a prohibition on their trade, as some of them at Chinsura had not saluted him, while he had been passing through that place on his way to Calcutta (96). But the Dutch Director and Council apologised for their conduct, which satisfied the Nawab and removed the restrictions on their trade.

About the month of November, 1758, Meeran and a few other officers of the Nawab's Durbar made Mir Jafar sensible of his impotent and dependent position, and created an anti-English feeling in his mind (97). The Dutch sought to take hold of this opportunity, and it is stated by Holwell that they entered into a secret negotiation with Mir Jafar for “transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Raja Rajbullub on the one part and Foocratoorjar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Decan expedition took place and the garrison was much reduced” (98). Early in August, 1759, there was a rumour in Calcutta that the Dutch Government at Batavia had been fitting out a strong armament, which was destined for Bengal (99). Very soon, the arrival of a Dutch vessel in the Ganges,

(94) Vide ante.

(95) Clive's letter to the Dutch Director, 2nd October, 1758. Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 71-72.

(96) 'Lord Clive's Righthandman', p. 120.

(97) Ibid., p. 122.

(98) Copy of the Memorial delivered by the President (Mr. Holwell) to the Select Committee upon the Arrival of Mr. Vansittart to succeed him in the Government, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 8-13; 'Clive's Narrative', Malcolm Vol. II, pp. 74-90. Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, p. 365. Clive's "Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal" has been inserted in Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. II. Malcolm notes that "This paper is not dated but from a correction in the rough copy of it (it) appears to have been drawn up in November, 1759; and was no doubt, transmitted to England at that period."

carrying on board a number of European and Malaya troops, confirmed the rumour (100). The Nawab was at first much perplexed on hearing this news from Colonel Clive, but, after a while, he sent a Perwanah to the Dutch Government strictly ordering them not to engage in hostilities or to shelter any additional troops, and demanding help for his own forces as well as those of the English; Omarbeg Khan, the Foujdar of Hugli, was also asked to join and aid the English, and the English were called upon to render assistance in preventing any foreign troops or ships from coming up the river. The Dutch Government at Chinsura replied that they would implicitly obey his orders, and also stated that the vessel in the river had been driven by stress of weather from Nagapatam, which was its destination, and that it would go away as soon as it had been provided with water and provisions. But this did not allay the fear of the English, and for the purpose of defence they posted parties at Tannah's Fort and Charnock's Battery, on either side of the river, to stop and search all boats and vessels passing upwards; detachments were also posted on the road sides to prevent the advance of any troops by land (101).

Again, early in the month of October, six or seven Dutch vessels full of European as well as Malaya troops arrived at the mouth of the river Ganges. Mir Jafar, who had then come to Calcutta on a visit to Colonel Clive, was at first greatly disconcerted on receiving this news (102). Here also Holwell asserts that the Dutch had arrived at the invitation of the Nawab, whom he accuses of a serious breach of trust in the following terms:—"The armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short, his mind much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived, by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive and the Council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business transmitted to the Honourable Court of Directors and to our several admirals; a perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the treaty of alliance and that from this period no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude to which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent force carried on between the Nabob and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the resident at Moradbag on this subject; by

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(99) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 75; Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, p. 365.

(100) Ibid, p. 75.

(101) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 76; Grose, Vol. II, p. 366. Mynheer Lucas Zydland, the Dutch Master Attendant, "refused to allow his boat to be searched when passing up, and struck the officer on duty at Charnock's Battery for which he was put into guard, and on searching his *Budgerow*, 18 Malaya Soldiers were found concealed on board: these were sent back to their ship, and Mynheer Zydland was then released: formal remonstrances were now received from the Dutch to which equally formal replies and arguments were returned. At length the vessel departed and matters returned to their usual state of quiet".

(102) Ibid,

reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us; witness the private orders and instructions given to Meer Cossim Aly Cawn so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinsura; in the apparent delays of this service Cossim Ali Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late President, though unjustly as we subsequently learnt. He was acting strictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob (103)."

But whatever might have been the intentions of Mir Jafar, it is stated that after some time, he expressed his desire for proceeding to Hugli in order to force the Dutch to send away their vessels and troops, or else to drive them out of the province for ever. So, after leaving Calcutta on the 19th October, he reached Khojeh Wazid's garden, half way between Hugli and Chinsura, where he met the Dutch agents and held conversations with them. After three or four days he wrote to Colonel Clive about "some indulgence he had granted the Dutch in their trade, and that they had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit." But even after that the Dutch were found moving up the river with their vessels and were engaged in enlisting sepoy at Chinsurah, Cassimbazar and Patna (104). The English, therefore, devoted themselves to strengthening and mustering their own forces.

The Dutch vessels carried 700 European infantry and 800 Malays, which could act in combination with the Dutch garrison at Chinsura consisting of about 150 Europeans including artillery and a considerable body of sepoy. The English force consisted of 250 European Infantry, a company of Artillery about 80 strong with Lascars attached and about 1200 sepoy. A party of European infantry and 500 sepoy were at Patna; a part of the Battalion and a number of sepoy were stationed at Midnapore against the incursions of the Marathas and considerable detachments were stationed at Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Burdwan. All the available men from these different parts of the country were ordered to come back, and the militia of Calcutta composed of the European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants were charged with the defence of the fort and town. "The only vessels in the river were three Indiamen the 'Duke of Dorset' of 544 tons, Captain Forrester; 'the Calcutta' of 761 tons, Captain 'Wilson'; and 'the Hardwicke' of 573 tons, 'Captain Sampson' with the Leopard, a small-snow Captain Barclay. The latter vessel was immediately set off with an express to Admiral Cornish, then cruising on the Arracan coast, requesting immediate assistance" (105).

Colonel Clive ordered three Indiamen, 'The Calcutta', Duke of Dorset', and 'Hardwicke' to proceed to the protection of the town and the detach-

(103) Copy of the Memorial addressed by the President Mr. Holwell to the Select Committee upon the arrival of Mr. Vansittart, Original papers, Vol. I, pp. 8-13; Indian Tracts, p. 11.

(104) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 76-79; Grose, Vol. II, p. 368.

(105) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 82-84; Broome's Bengal Army, pp. 261-265.

ments at Tannah's fort and Charnock's Battery were strengthened (106). The command of the parties at those two places was entrusted to Captain Knox, and Colonel Forde, who had at that time returned from Mauslipatam to Bengal because of ill health, took upon himself the command of the remaining troops in the garrison (107). He wrote to the Nawab (108) in strong and peremptory terms to send down his son with an army to invest Chinsura; but it was not listened to.

The Dutch now remonstrated against the actions of the English in searching their boats and obstructing the advance of their troops up the river, and threatened them with immediate and full revenge if they persisted in doing so. But the English only replied that "they (the English) had given no insult to their (Dutch) colours, or attacked or touched their property or infringed their privileges; that with respect to their bringing troops into Bengal, the Nabob knew best how far it was incumbent on him to preserve the peace and tranquility of his country; that their boats had been stopped and searched, and the advance of their troops opposed, by orders from the Viceroy, and under the Emperor his master's colours, and by his troops; that they must apply therefore to him, and that that we were ready to interpose our friendly offices to mitigate his resentment" (109).

This reply greatly enraged the Dutch who commenced hostilities by capturing seven English vessels including the 'Leopard Snow', 'Captain Barclay' which had been sent to Admiral Cornish on the Arracan coast, tearing down English colours and disembarking their guns, military stores, etc. from their own ships, and making prisoners of captains and crews. At Fulta and Riapore they tore down the English colours and burnt the houses and effects of the Company's tenants. Governor Clive informed the Nawab of these acts of (110) violence that the Dutch had committed, "adding that as they had commenced actual war against us, he should judge the quarrel now subsisted between them and us only, desiring he would leave chastising the Dutch to us and desist from sending either his son or any part of his army to our assistance; but that, if he would convince us of his sincerity and attachment, he should directly surround their subordinates, and distress them in the country to the utmost" (111).

On the 20th November, Colonel Forde seized the Dutch Factory at Baranagore and "passed over the river with his troops and four field artillery to Serampore, the Danish factory and marched towards Chander-nagore; not only with a view of striking terror into Chinsura, but to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops, in case they should disembark, and attempt to gain that place by land" (112). On the 21st November, the

(112) *Ibid.*, p. 84.

(106) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 80; Grose, Vol. II, p. 368.

(107) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 84.

(108) *Ibid.*, p. 80.

(109) *Ibid.*; Grose, Vol. II, p. 369.

(110) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 82; Grose, Vol. II, p. 369.

(111) *Ibid.*, p. 83.



Dutch armament came to an anchor in Sankeral Reach, just out of cannon shot from the English batteries. On the 23rd November, the Dutch landed on the western bank seven hundred Europeans, and about eight hundred Malays, and their ships dropped down to melancholy point. On the same day Colonel Clive sent orders to Commodore Wilson to demand of the Dutch immediate restitution of their ships, subjects and property, or "to fight, sink, burn and destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal". On the 24th, the demand was made and was at once refused. The English, thereupon, attacked the Dutch, notwithstanding the inferiority of their own vessels (the Dutch having seven (113) ships to three and four of these heavy vessels). After two hours' fighting, the Dutch commodore struck, and all the other vessels followed the example, except his second, who fought his way swiftly as far low as Culpee, where, however, he was very soon captured by the 'Oxford' and 'Royal George' who had arrived two days ago, with orders to join the other Captains. On this occasion, the Dutch lost more than 100 men; on board the Dutch Commodore's ship, the *Vlissingen*, upwards of 30 men were killed and double that number wounded. On the side of the English, 'the Duke of Dorset' suffered considerably (114).

On the same day Colonel Forde, while marching through Chandernagore with an intention to encamp between Chandernagore and Chinsura, was attacked by the Dutch with four pieces of cannon and the garrison from Chinsura, which had taken its position in the houses and ruins of Chandernagore. He, however, drove them from their position, took their cannon and pursued them with slaughter up to Chinsura (115). In the evening, he was joined by Captain Knox and the troops from the Charnoc's and Tanna batteries. He soon received the intelligence that the Dutch troops from the ships, joined by a part of the garrison from Chinsura, were advancing, and so he immediately resolved to attack them on the plains of Bedarra, about 4 four miles from Chinsura (116). But as to attack a European power, against whom, to his knowledge, war had not been formally declared was a matter of great responsibility, he thought it advisable to take an official permission, and wrote to Colonel Clive. His letter reached Clive while he was playing cards in the night. Without leaving the table, he wrote an answer on the back of the letter in pencil, "Dear Forde, Fight them immediately. I will send you the Order of Council tomorrow" (117). On receipt of this permission, he marched at once with

(113) List of the Dutch fleet :—The *Vlissingen*, *Bleiswyk*, *Welgeleegen*, and the *Princes of Orange* of 36 guns each, the *Elizabeth Dorothea* and *Waereld* of 26 guns each, and *de Mossel* of 16 guns, *Grose*, Vol. II, p. 374, footnote.

(114) Clive's Narrative, *Malcolm*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86; *Grose's Voyage*, Vol. II, pp. 374-375.

(115) *Ibid*.

(116) *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 86; *Grose*, Vol. II, p. 375.

(117) *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 87. Colonel Lionel Forde has quoted a slightly different version of this incident from Hough's 'Military Events in India', Vol. I, p. 20, footnote :—"When Colonel Forde reported to Clive the arrival of the Dutch in the river and wrote for orders, Clive was playing at cards and wrote on the back of the nine of diamonds: 'Fight them and I will send you an Order in Council, tomorrow' ". 'Lord Clive's Righthand Man', p. 186.

two field-pieces and met the Dutch on the plains of Bedarra (midway between Chandernagore and Chinsura) where the two parties soon came to action. Thus ensued on the soil of Bengal, a most deadly contest between two rival European powers, which has been described by Clive himself in the following manner:—"The Dutch were commanded by Colonel Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They consisted of nearly seven hundred Europeans, and as many buggoses, besides country troops: ours of two hundred and forty infantry, and eighty of the train, and fifty more Europeans composing the troops of horse, independents and volunteers, and about eight hundred sepoys. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. The Dutch were put to a total rout in less than half an hour: they had about one hundred and twenty Europeans, and two hundred buggoses killed, three hundred and fifty Europeans and about one hundred and fifty wounded. Our loss was inconsiderable (118). After this action, Colonel Forde returned, sat down before Chinsura and wrote for further orders. The Dutch were now as abject in their submission as they had been insolent in their supposed superiority. They wrote to Colonel Forde, and likewise to the Board here, requesting he would cease hostilities and propose terms of amity" (119).

The English readily responded to the request of the vanquished Dutch; "deputies were appointed and things brought to a speedy and amicable conclusion" (120). The Dutch "disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages", whilst the English agreed that these terms being fulfilled,

(118) Vide, Appendix 'S' (I + II + III) in 'Lord Clive's Righthandman'.

(119) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 87; Proceedings, 28 November, 1759 A.D. Compare with this the Dutch account of the battle of Bedarra:—"On the 25th when the troops and other hands, which, on the 22nd before, were gone on shore, were, in their projected march, come near Chandernagore, they were there met by the 'English', who according to their own account, to the number of 1170, were posted very advantageously, and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were these troops come within cannon shot but they were fired on by the English and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days; yet, with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English; and, though unprovided of any artillery, marched up with a full and steady pace to the enemy; but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch, which they were constrained to pass, to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops, in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder; the English, taking advantage of this circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery and musquetry; and the disorder, already risen, being thereby increased, caused the slaughter of a part of these troops; another part was made prisoners and the rest were constrained to retire" Grose's Voyage, Vol. II, p. 376, footnote

(120) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88. About this time Mr. John Burdett at Balasore "had put peons on the Dutch Factory and had secured the persons of two Dutchmen residing there". The Board on receipt of this news from Mr. Burdett's letter of 1st December, 1759, replied to him in the following manner—"... We are much surprised at the manner of his proceeding against the Dutch, and that we direct he immediately on the receipt of our letter, released the Dutch gentlemen and takes off the peon from their factory; and further, he apologizes to them for his conduct on this occasion and acquaints them that what he has done has been from a misunderstanding of our orders and is totally disapproved by us." Proceedings, 8 December, 1759 A.D.

they would restore the ships, stores and prisoners they had captured except those of the latter, who desired to enter their service (121). But three days after the battle of Bedarra, Meeran, the Nawab's son, arrived from Murshidabad with six or seven thousand horses and encamped within two miles of Chinsura. Highly terrified at his arrival, the Dutch wrote to Colonel Clive for protection, and the latter's intervention saved them from the wrath of the young Nawab, who at last "received their deputies; and after severe altercation, forgave them, and promised ample protection in their trade and privileges on the following terms:—that they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country; that they shall be allowed to keep up one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers, and no more, for the service of their factories of Chinsura, Cossimbazar and Patna: that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining troops out of the country; and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion" (122).

Thus the "attempts of the Dutch to rival the political power of the English in Bengal" (123) ended in smoke. The defeat at Bedarra was a crushing blow on their hopes, and henceforth, their existence in Bengal became entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rivals, the English. The Nawab began to look on them as "an unloved guest", whose departure, rather than existence, he now desired most.

## B.

Every one had expected that after the conventions, which the Dutch had entered into, on the 3rd of December, 1759, with the English, and, on the 5th December, with the Nawab, the relations among these powers would be friendly. But, as a contemporary Dutch account says, these "two extorted conventions were not sufficient to answer the desired intention" of these powers (124). The weak position of the Dutch, coupled with the pecuniary embarrassments of the Nawab, subjected the former, once and again, to heavy financial exactions at the hands of the latter. The Nawab accused the Dutch that he had "discovered by an intercepted letter, said to be furnished him by the English, that the Company's (the Dutch Company's) servants had tendered and promised their assistance to the Mogul prince, who was in full March against the said Nabob" (125). He,

(121) Clive's Narrative, Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88.

(122) Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 88.

(123) The importance of the victory of Bedarra for the English has been aptly hinted at by Clive in the following sentence:—"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter destruction; for, had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony". Ibid, p. 89.

(124) A fresh complaint lately exhibited to the States of Holland and West Friesland by the Dutch East India Company against the servants of the English East India Company in Bengal, 2nd December, 1761.

(125) Ibid.

therefore, made up his mind to punish the Dutch and wrote to Mr. Holwell accordingly (126). When the Dutch came to know of it, they applied to the English to intercede for them with the Nawab. The English agreed to do so provided they paid up the resitution money, demanded according to treaty and amounting to Rs. 75,428-0-0 ; of this Rs. 5,000 were demanded for the expenses of bringing the military from Patna to watch the Dutch ; Rs. 14,000 as a gratuity to the English sailors, hospital charge Rs. 57,000. The Dutch, after long objection to the payment of this, at last agreed to the proposal, and thus obtained the aid of the English to intercede for them with the Nawab (127). But this could not save them from his wrath.

On the 11th February, 1760, the Nawab sent Kasim Khan (128), one of his commanders, with a great army before the Dutch Company's fort Gustavas, which was invested by him in such a way that all provisions of the Dutch Company's servants were stopped. Kasim Khan afterwards gave orders that all the out-works of the Fort should be raised, and demanded of the Dutch, a considerable sum of money, by way of penalty or fine. The Dutch argued that the charge against them was a false one, and so the commander's demand was totally unjust. But it was of no avail. They were compelled "to raze the outworks of the Fort, and to buy off further Acts of violence by paying him 50,000 Florins" (129).

Again, in the month of April, the Nawab accused the Dutch of levying men, and sent for the Chief of their Factory at Cassimbazar (130), who could not, however, turn up owing to his illness. Therefore, De Wilde, the Second of that Factory, went before the Nawab, who "on admitting him into his presence, repeated the above-mentioned accusation, adding that the Company's servants held a correspondence and conspired with his Enemies ; and on this Account demanded of the (Dutch) Company, by way of contribution, an immense sum of fifty laks of rupees, or two and twenty

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(126) *Ibid.* The Nawab's letter to Mr. Holwell : "Notwithstanding the solemn treaties and engagements in which we have lately entered with the Dutch and which we on our parts have faithfully adhered to and kept, they, without any just cause and contrary to their faith and word have broke, by carrying on a private correspondence with our known and public enemies, by keeping up a much larger force, than we thought proper to allow them by the late treaty, and which they themselves agreed to, and also by repairing the works ordered to be pulled down at their factory of Chinsura, in which place they are now employed in making quantities of powder and many other military preparations, which but too plainly show the wickedness of their designs and intention against my honour, the peace and safety of my kingdom. Being therefore now come to a resolution of punishing the said offenders, who have so long abused my clemency and goodness I propose sending down a large force to their Factory of Chinsura to oblige them by force, since other means will not do, to keep to their promises and oaths, and to agree to the just conditions I shall impose on them to prevent in time their plots and wicked designs, and to secure the quiet of my country from their evil attempts." *Proceedings*, 12 May, 1760 A.D.

(127) Long, p. 214, footnote.

(128) A Fresh complaint lately exhibited, etc.

(129) *Ibid.*

(130) *Ibid.*

ions and a half of Gold ; threatening, if this sum was not immediately paid, to level with the ground the Company's settlements" (131). De Wilde tried his utmost to prove the falsity of these accusations and argued that the sepoy in the Dutch Company's service had been maintained for securing the effects of the Company against the threatened inroads of the Marathas, and that the natives in their service would have been already discharged but for that unexpected investment of their factory. But all his arguments were fruitless. The Nawab put him under arrest, caused the Dutch Factory at Cassimbazar to be invested by his troops and placed 11 pieces of cannon before it. The Dutch warded off the immediate destruction of their Factory by the payment of full seven and a half Tons of Gold, and under the promise of discharging the sepoy and sending back the other troops to Hugli. This promise they fulfilled very soon ; but their Factory still remained invested by the Nawab's troops. When the Dutch insisted on their withdrawal, the Nawab replied that "it was not in Prince's Breast but in that of the English" (132).

The English were then approached by the Dutch, and "questioned about the reason of such a conduct". But they replied that "they were informed the Company's (the Dutch Company's) servants held a correspondence with their enemies. That their design was to make head against them and the Prince ; and that therefore it was natural, that they, the English should prevent therein". The Dutch denied the truth of those charges and pleaded that they had not the least intention of hostility against the English. But they could not satisfy them so as to secure the withdrawal of the Nawab's troops, till they promised to send Commissioners to Calcutta, in order to settle standing differences with them (133).

Accordingly, two commissioners were sent by the Dutch to Calcutta on the 29th May. After about two months and a half, "they were constrained as it were, under the Guaranty (guarantee) of the President and Council at Fort William" to enter into a more precise convention with the Nawab, dated 23rd August, 1760 (134). The articles of the convention (135) were very hard for the Dutch, especially the sixth one, which contained, "That the Director and Council of the Dutch Company shall, now and at all times, whenever the Nabob may require it, permit one of his officers, accompanied by one of the English, to muster or visit their troops and Military Stores at Chinsura and their other Factories: or if any other means can be agreed on between the Governor and Council of Fort William and

(131) Ibid.

(132) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(133) Ibid. About this time the Dutch Director Mr. Bisdom received a letter from Mr. Holwell, dated 15th May, 1760, in which "under the semblance of friendship" the latter advised the Dutch to satisfy in full the present and future demands of the Nawab. He also added that he ardently wished to play the part of a mediator between the Dutch and the Nawab as, in case of differences between the two, the English would be compelled, through necessity, to play a very disagreeable part.

(134) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(135) Ibid.

the Director and Council of Chinsura, whereby the Governor and Council of Fort William may, to their satisfaction, be assured of the Number of their Troops, and the quantity of their military stores, and he, as umpire, empowered to give a satisfactory Answer to the Nabob, as to the security of his country ; that then, and in that case the Nabob would no further insist on the Muster". According to the other articles, the Dutch were required:—(I) to send away from Hugli and other factories all the troops, which exceeded the number of 125 men, (II) not to raise any new works or fortifications, and to demolish those which they had erected since the last treaty with the Nawab, (III) to send away from their factories surplus number of artillery, and the quantity of warlike stores, (IV) not to suffer "above one European ship at once to come up higher than Culpi, Fotha (Fulta), or Mayapur, without previously obtaining of the Nawab an Express permission". Umed Ray, the Nawab's Dewan, also promised that, as soon as the Dutch had submitted to those abovementioned conditions, their trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa "shall be carried on free and unmolested in all points whatever, except the saltpetre Trade", which will remain exclusively in the hands of the English ; that they "shall not be aggrieved with any new or unusual Extortions of Money, under what pretencesoever" ; and that "in future their business in the Mint shall be continued to be carried on, without the least Molestation or obstruction".

Thus the Dutch were subjected to a very humiliating and precarious position. Many of them left their ships at Fulta and Chinsura and ran away to the Raja of Birbhum who was then on unfriendly terms with the Nawab (136). But the Nawab at once sent a Company of troops to seize them at Dewangunge in Burdwan and to bring them over to Calcutta. The local authorities in the interior of Burdwan and the inhabitants of Dewangunge were also warned not to allow the Dutch to enter the territory of the Raja of Birbhum. Their trade in Bengal was also on the decline. The saltpetre trade had been practically monopolised by the English Company (137), and the behaviour of their (the English) servants had become a terrible nuisance, hampering in a serious manner the peaceful trade of the other foreign companies, as well as of the natives. These private English traders and the servants of the English Company disturbed the Dutch, even in their spice trade (138), and hindered them, by means of their insolent

(136) Letter from Annad Lal to Mirjafar, September, 1760. Long. No. 496, p. 235.

(137) Orme, Vol. II, 282.

(138) "Traders and smugglers have, for some time past laid it down as a rule for their conduct, that they may lawfully sail to and trade at all places *where it has pleased God that Water should run*. Founded on that pretended Right, several of these private Traders have once and again ventured to supplant the Dutch Company even in their most appropriated spice-trade. The favourable Government of India has not omitted to hinder as much as possible this unlawful navigation and Trade. And this gave occasion to the Commander of His Brittanic Majesty's squadron in the East Indies, without scruple, to threaten in a Letter that if the Honourable Government should hinder or obstruct any English ships in their Navigation and Trade, he would in that case with his ships of War pay a visit to Batavia, which would be of the most affecting consequences to the Dutch Company". A Fresh Complaints, etc.

behaviour, from filling in their investments with the clothes manufactured in Bengal (139).

In these circumstances, the Directors of the General Dutch East India Company appealed to their High Mightinesses the States of Holland and West Friezland that they might recommend to their ministers at the Court of England, "to insist in the strongest manner, on a proper satisfaction for the injuries sustained, as also on the actual Reparation of the Damage and detriment undergone; and at the same time write to the said ministers, above all to insist with his Britannic Majesty, that in the meantime, the necessary orders may, on the first proper opportunity, be expedited to the Indies; in which both the commanders of His Majesty's squadrons there, and the servants of the English Company in Bengal, and elsewhere in the Indies, where it may be necessary shall be expressly forbid, in virtue of the Treaty or convention, entered in the year 1757, with the then Nabob of Bengal, as Allies of the Nabob, or under any other Pretext directly or indirectly, to commit any act of Hostility or Violence against the Dutch Company, their settlements or dependents, and in which they, on the contrary, shall be charged to behave in regard to the Company of this country, according to the Tenor of the Treaties subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and your High Mightinesses; and, moreover, to suffer the commerce of the said Company to be carried on unmolested, and without giving them the least Impediment or Lett therein" (140). The Directors pointed out in their petition that the servants of the East India Company in Bengal were helping the Nawab against them, on the strength of that treaty (141) and, therefore, prayed that it might be cancelled, as, in their opinion, it directly clashed with the treaties, concluded between the King of Netherlands and the King of Great Britain, especially with one separate article of the 8th of March, 1675.

Technically speaking, according to Article XIII of the said treaty (142), the English were bound to help Mir Jafar against his enemies, and it is also clear that, for sometime past, the Dutch had fallen in the bad eyes of the Nawab. Of course, under the plea of helping the Nawab, the English had, on many occasions, adopted some objectionable measures against the Dutch in order to 'feed fat their ancient grudge' on their old commercial rival in Bengal, for which the Dutch might justly complain. But their demand

(139) Ibid:—"The weavers, under severe Threats, are forbid and actually hindered from working any cloths for the Dutch Company yet the factors of the English forcibly cut the Pieces out of the Loom; and what complaints soever the Company's servants have made on that Head to the Governor and Council of the English Company, no redress could ever be obtained".

(140) A Fresh Complaint, etc.

(141) Stewart's History of Bengal, Appendix No. XIII.

(142) "... that we will assist Meer Jaffer Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubaship of the province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost, against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to the Nabob, shall fulfill the aforesaid Articles".

for a cancellation of the treaty between Mir Jafar and the English, on the ground that it clashed with the treaties existing between the two powers in Europe, do not seem to be just. We have already seen that when the English had, during the invasion of Calcutta by Seraj-ud-dowlah, asked help of the Dutch on the basis of these treaties, the latter had themselves plainly declared that their treaties in Europe did not apply to their colonies in India (143). To ask them for a cancellation of that treaty was to 'hope against hope'. Moreover, judging from the point of view of practical politics, it may be said that the English could not do away with that treaty. That would have prejudiced their position in Bengal and would have meant a loss of the interests and privileges, that they had already gained.

The complaints of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company attracted the attention of the States General of Netherlands, which began preparations for sending an armament to India. Fortunately, the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Bute, Secretary of State, was able to diagnose the real state of affairs. He signified to the Court of Directors that there was reason to "apprehend the Dutch East India Company extremely anxious at the situation of their affairs in Bengal may induce the States General to take such measures as may produce the most fatal consequences, and become perhaps the cause of a rupture between the two powers in those parts, if the utmost care and precaution be not used without delay to prevent it . . . ." (144), and recommended to them, in the most serious manner, to try their level best to put an end to the unhappy disputes subsisting between the two nations. The Court of Directors, therefore, sent the following order and directions to the Company's people in Bengal:—" . . . . You do not commit any hostility or act of violence against the Dutch Company's agents ; on the contrary, you are to use your best endeavours to cultivate by all sorts of good offices a reciprocal friendship and good understanding with them, and in particular if the Nawab shall unjustly attempt to molest the Dutch Company in Bengal, or any way prejudice them in their trade, privileges or property, you are to interpose your good offices in order to procure them redress and satisfaction and if these should prove ineffectual, you are to aid and defend them to the utmost of your power ; it being our sincere desire and intention that the Dutch Company shall enjoy freedom of trade, safety and protection equally with ourselves" (145).

We are not sure if the Company's people in Calcutta tried to act up to the abovementioned orders of their authorities at home. In 1763 the English Company's Resident at Malda complained that the Gomasthas of the Dutch had been greatly obstructing the English investments by their clandestine purchases from the weavers engaged to the Company (146). But the Dutch company had by that time realised that their loss of political

(143) Vide, ante.

(144) Court's Letter, April 2, 1762, para. 19.

(145) Court's Letter, April 2, 1762, para. 19.

(146) Proceedings, 23 June, 1763 A.D.



and commercial influence in Bengal left no way open for them but to be on friendly terms with the English, and so, henceforth, the disputes that occasionally arose ended mostly in amicable settlements. The English in Calcutta received many informations about the death and expulsion of their brethren at Patna, in 1763, in a letter from the Dutch Director "giving an extract of a letter wrote by John Bacheracht, Chief, and Mr. Andries Surgen Schultz, Second of the Dutch Factory at Patna, to the Hon'ble Louis Tallefert and the rest of the Council at Chinsura, dated 27th June 1763" (147). In the same year, the disputes between the English and the Dutch Factories concerning the opium trade were also amicably settled, and the Court of Directors congratulated Calcutta thus:—"We are extremely glad to find by your letter of the 14th February, 1763 that the disagreeable altercations and disputes between the English and Dutch Factories concerning the Opium Trade have been accommodated by the President when he was at Patna to the satisfaction of both parties. As there is reason to believe that both our servants, and those of the Dutch, have been to blame, we strictly charge it upon you to see that the conduct of our servants in the providing or purchasing this article is such as many prevent every person for complaint, and on the other hand the greatest care must be taken that the Dutch behave in like manner to ours" (148).

KALI KINKAR DATTA.

(147) Proceedings, 11 July, 1763 A.D.

(148) Court's Letter, 22 February, 1764.

# More Monumental Inscriptions.

## III.

### *AGRA, Fort cemetery.*

745. In memory of HANNAH, the beloved child of Alexr. and Hannah DYCE died in the Agra Fort 5th December 1857, aged 1 year and 2 months. (Text).

### *AGRA, Muslim cemetery outside the Fort.*

746. Sacred to the memory of SITTARAH BEGHUM, the Faithful and Affectionate Friend and Companion of Lieutenant. SHAIRP who died on the 3rd of December 1804.

### *GWALIOR.*

*(Near the site of the Old Residency Camp, at Madurusthana, near Sagartal, due South of the hill on which the reservoir stands).*

747. JOSIAH STEWART, son of Major and . . . Stewart Born the 20th of July 1824 Died the 1st of May 1825.
748. Sacred to the memory of SUSAN ELIZABETH LOW, daughter of Major and Mrs. Low Born at Jypoor the 14th of January 1830 Died at Gwalior . . . of May 1831.
749. Sacred to the memory of Lieutent. ROBERT VETCH 26th Regt. Native Infy. Assist. to the Residency with Sindeah who died on 23rd August 1818 aged 29 years.
750. Sacred to the memory of K. MACAULAY Esqre., Surgeon to the Residency with Scindia who died on the 17th October 1813. This stone is erected by his friends in testimony of His Worth.

*(About fifty yards to the N.E. of the above enclosure are two smaller graves in bad repair. One has no inscription : the epitaph of the other is given below. Thirty yards away is a third (nameless) grave.)*

751. Sacred to the memory of JOAO PEREIRA an infant son of Manuel Pereira aged 6 years 1 month who died with smallpox on the 8 March 1818 left his parents to lament his loss.

*(To the West of the Agra-Bombay Road are two small cemeteries, the first being about 200 yards from the road and consisting of an enclosure 120 ft. by 45 ft. It contains nine large tombs, on 3 of which are inscriptions on metal plates. The other tablets are now missing).*

752. Sacred to the memory of SARAH Relict of John DA COSTA Esqre. of the Marhatta Service Died at Gwalior 8th Nov. 1842 Aged 60 years.
753. Sacred to the memory of LOUISA CAROLINE who died at Dholpur 27th November 1874 only child of Major and Mrs. LANDERS aged 7 years 2 months 23 days.

754. In memory of FRANCIS MATILDA GRIMES the beloved and devoted wife of Capt. H. S. Grimes. Paymaster. Gwalior Contingent. born 7th October 1816 and died at Gwalior 12th July 1845 whose mortal remains rest here. Also of Mary Ellen, born 10th Dec. 1841 died 25th August 1844, and of Florence, born 31st August 1844 died 22nd Feb. 1845, the infant daughters of the above named who are interred near here.

*(About 300 yards W.S.W. of the above graveyard is a small enclosure which contains 14th graves, brick and cement, which stand 6 to 12 inches above the ground, and one rather larger tomb about 3 ft. high, with a large slab inscribed as follows :—*

755. Sacred to the memory of Ensn. THEODORE DAVID BRAY of H. M.'s 39th Regiment who fell whilst gallantly carrying the colours of the Regiment at the Battle of Maharajpore on the 29th December 1843 aged 19 years & 3 months. Erected by his brother officers.

*Gwalior, Alexander Family Chapel.*

756. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH N. ALEXANDER who departed this life 28 July 1871 aged 21 years 3 months.

*Gwalior, Armenian Cemetery.*

*(This cemetery contains many epitaphs in Persian and Armenian, which, it is understood, have been transcribed by Professor Mesroub J. Seth. The only English inscription is given below).*

757. This is the tomb of WANESS GABRIEL died on the 20th January in the year 1853 NEIBG in age 90 years. Gwalior.

*Ferozepore, Punjab, Civil Cemetery.*

758. Sacred to the memory of ROBERT CHARLES HENRY MARTINDELL of the Canal Department who departed this life on the 30th May 1867 aged 44 years . . . erected by his affectionate wife Anna Martindell.

## BARODA STATE.

*Khari Talavdi, Fatehpura, Baroda City.*

759. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. CHARLOTTE EVANS, daughter of the late Captain F. Danover of the Gaekwar's service, who departed this life on the 30th September 1830 aged 17 years.

*(There are seven other graves, without inscriptions, at the same place, all of which are said to be of members of Capt. Danover's family).*

*Mehsana.*

760. Sacred to the memory of Lizzy and Agnes, two daughters of Mr. H. O. RALEIGH, died of cholera on the 25th June 1876.

761. Sacred to the memory of Lt. J. R. A. COLEBROOK, H. M.'s 83rd Regiment who died at Mehiana of cholera on the 29th April 1860 deeply lamented by his brother officers by whom this tablet has been erected. *(Text).*

*Billimora, taluka Gandevi, Navsari district.*

762. F. C. BARFESTON died in July 1860.

*Dhari, district Amreli.*

763. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM JOHN GOULD, only son of Thomas Gould Esqr., staffed(?) in the county of Wiltshire, England, and Captain, His Highness the Gackwar's 4th or Amreli Regiment who died deeply regretted at Amreli on the 16th September 1870, aged 34 years and 10 months. (*Text*).
764. Sacred to the memory of SARAH, the beloved wife of Captain George NISSEN, His Highness Gackwar's 4th Regiment N. I. and daughter of Samuel Divins Esqr., London, who died at Dhari 14th September 1877 at the age of 34 years 7 months and 10 days. God in his wisdom called her away from her newly born infant. (*Verse*). Our little Arthur sleeps at Rajkot. G. Nissen.

*Dwarka, taluka Okhamandal, Amreli district.*

765. Here lies the body of WILLIAM HENRY MARRIOTT, Lieutenant in His Majesty's 67th Regiment of foot and Aide-de-camp to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, died 8th December 1820. Aged 26. The gallant officer was the first person who mounted to assault the Fort of Dwarka on the 26th November 1820 and died of the wound he received on the occasion. His friends in token of their admiration of his gallantry, respect of his virtues and esteem of his amiable qualities have erected this stone at the spot where the ladder was planted. Brief, brave and glorious was his young career.

(There are five other graves at Dwarka, all later than 1870).

*Beyt, Peta Mahal Beyt, Amreli district.*

766. Edward Tanquary William Ensign 6th Bombay Regiment N. I. and Captain McCormac, 28th Regiment of foot, killed on the 6th October MDCCCLIX.

JAIPUR STATE.

*Old cemetery, Jaipur.*

767. In memory of MARTIN BLAKE, Esqre., of the Bengal Civil Service, who was murdered by the populace of Jaipur on his return from the palace whither he had proceeded in the course of his public duty attendant upon the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana. The melancholy events of the 4th June 1835, on which day, in the death of Martin Blake, a meritorious officer was lost to the State and society was bereft of an amiable and accomplished member, will be recorded in the annals of Rajasthan. The deed of blood needs no gravestone commentary. Obit. 4th June 1835. Aetat. [blank] years.
768. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH VANZEYST, Head Clerk in the Jaipur Political Agency Office, who departed this life on the 28th July 1842, aged 23 years 5 months 28 days. This tomb is erected by his disconsolate widow.
769. Sacred to the memory of Dr. JOSEPH HARRIS, Residency Surgeon, who died 29th September 1846, aged 43 years. He was exemplary in

his duty and an honest good man. This tomb is erected by C. Thoresby and T. Ludlow, Political Agents, as a mark of esteem.

770. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant E. B. WIMBERLY, B.A., Bengal Staff Corps, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, who entered into rest on Sunday night, the 6th March 1864, aged 32 years. This tomb is erected by General G. St. P. Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, in testimony of his worth and untiring zeal. (*Text*).

*New cemetery, Jaipur.*

771. Sacred to the memory of FREDERIC CURRIE KNYVETT, Captain, Bengal Staff Corps, who departed this life, July 15th, 1869, aged 32 years. (*Text*).
772. To the memory of ALEXANDER YOUNG SINCLAIR of Barrack Caithness Lieutenant-Colonel, His Majesty's 26th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, born 16th February 1826, died 3rd February 1871, aged 46 years.

*Old cemetery, Jaipur.*

773. Sacred to the memory of CHARLOTTE CATHERINE, the infant daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel RAPER and Eliza his wife, who departed this life on the 26th of October 1825, aged 9 months and 12 days . . . .
774. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, relict of the late Assistant Commissary John LUCKSTEDT, who departed this life on the 26th April 1836, aged 61 years. This tomb is erected by her affectionate sons.
775. Sacred to the memory of JULIET AUGUSTA, the infant daughter of Mr. J. VANZEYST and E. Elizabeth his wife, who died at Jaipur 16th April 1839, aged 6 months and 7 days.
776. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAMINA VICTORIA, the infant daughter of Mrs. VANZEYST, who died at Jaipur, 16th April 1841, aged 1 year 3 months and 12 days.
777. In memory of ANTHONY YEY, who departed this life, 8th December 1845, aged 45 years.
778. To the infant daughter of Captain G. HAMILTON, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana Agency, and Alice, his wife, born 4th February 1862, and died the same day.

*Jaipur, new cemetery.*

779. Sacred to the memory of EMA CAROLINE BROOKE, the beloved wife of Colonel John Cheap Brooke, Bengal Staff Corps, who died at Jaipur on January 3rd, 1869, aged 37 years.
780. Sacred to the memory of SAMUEL EDGAR JAMES OCKELTON, aged 2 years and 11 days. (*Text*).
781. Sacred to the memory of AMELIA HENRIETTA HARDY, died 6th January 1872, aged one month.

782. Sacred to the memory of ISABELLA ANN, the beloved wife of W. S. HARDY, born 3rd June 1836, died 28th February 1872, aged 35 years 8 months 25 days. (*Text*).

783. In memory of MARY FRANCIS STEWART, the beloved child of Robert and Diana Paterson, born 3rd April 1871, died 27th September 1874.

784. Sacred to the memory of GEORGE FRITSCHY, who departed this life 30th August 1877. Erected by his wife as a last token of affection.

*Jaipur, Shekhawati.*

785. In memory of the infant boy of Captain and Mrs. FORSTER, died 17th August 1841, aged 1 year 5 months.

*Jaipur, Mahwa.*

786. In memory of HERBERT EDWARD, son of Herbert Owen, Esqre., died at Halleyna, 9th February 1870, aged 4 months 17 days.

*Jaipur, near Residency.*

787. Sacred to the memory of PATRICK DE COURCY, Staff Serjeant, 1st Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery, who died while on service at Jaipur on the 21st day of September 1835, aged 37 years . . .

*Jaipur, Roman Catholic Chapel.*

788. In memory of the infant son of Major VICTOR EDWARD LAW and of Helen Florence his wife, who was born on the 15th June 1877 and died the same day.

789. Sacred to the memory of HENRY GEORGE, infant son of Major and Mrs. ADAMS, H.M. 28th Regiment, who departed this life after very severe illness on the 27th of September 1846, aged 11 months.

790. Sacred to the memory of PENELOPE, the wife of Captain Henry Charles MORSE, 8th Regiment N.I., who departed this life at Mount Abu, on the 12th June 1846 . . .

791. Sacred to the memory of LOUISA, infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. CLIFFORD, who departed this life February, 6th, 1856, aged 1 year. (*Text*). Also to the memory of JULIA the dearly beloved wife of Mr. W. W. CLIFFORD, Master, Abu Lawrence School, died 10th December 1856, aged 18 years, three months and 21 days. (*Text*).

792. Sacred to the memory of FLORENCE MAIF, the beloved child of Lt. and Mrs DICKENSON, Her Majesty's 83rd Regiment, who died at Mount Abu, on the 1st September 1857, aged 16 months.

793. Sacred to the memory of MABEL CAROLINE the beloved child of Lieutenant C. R. BLAIR, 2nd Bombay Native Infantry, who died at Abu, 31st October 1863, aged 2 months.

794. Sacred to the memory of JOHN WILLIAM, the beloved son of Major Richard ANDERSON, 56th Regiment, who died at Mount Abu on the 9th of October 1862, aged 1 year and 16 days.

795. Sacred to the memory of LETITIA ANGELA, wife of Captain Henry Erskine FORBES, 1st Bombay Lancers, who died at Abu, 29th October 1857. (*Text*).

796. In memory of ARTHUR FRANCIS, the beloved child of Assistant Surgeon A. YOUNG, Jodhpur Legion. He was born at Abu on the 14th of September 1857, and departed this life on the 23rd August 1858. (Text).
797. Here lies the body of LOUISA LATHAM, wife of Arthur George St. John, and daughter of Captain Harry GOUGH, Ordnance (?) of the Royal Artillery and Louisa his wife. She died at Abu, 5th May A.D. 1855. Little Artie died 29th July 1855, aged 13 months and 5 days. (Text).
798. Erected to the sacred memory of Mr. JOHN ANGIER who died at Mount Abu on the 6th of February 1876, aged 60 years, by his affectionate and bereaved wife, Louisa Angier. (Text).
799. Sacred to the memory of JANE, the beloved wife of John JOHNSTON of Mount Abu, who departed this life on the 30th November 1860. Aged 42 years. (Text).
800. JOSEPH LAMBERT COURTNEY, son of Daniel Rutledge Courtney, 26, died 14th February 1860, aged 25 years.

#### LORALAI.

The cemetery at Loralai, Baluchistan, contains 35 M.I., the oldest being dated Oct. 1889. Of these, 8 M.I. relate to Indian Christians and 12 to private soldiers etc.: the remaining 15 are set forth below. The headstone of Capt. Goolden was removed from Lakaband to Loralai in 1929.

801. Lieut-Col. William Lockhart MAXWELL, Commandant 10th D.C.O. Lancers, who died at Loralai on March 7th 1914 aged 51 years. Erected by his brother officers as a token of their affection and esteem.
802. In loving memory of my dear husband David J. S. GYFORD aged 28 years, who was killed by a ghazi at Loralai on October 31st 1891. (Text).
803. Sacred to the memory of Hugh Roddam TATE Brevet Lieut.-Col. 15th Bengal Lancers who died at Loralai 2nd August 1897 in his 41st year. (Text).
804. In memory of Surgeon Lieut. J. D. McMILLAN I.M.S., attached 15th Bengal Lancers who died at Loralai 5th February 1897.
805. In memory of Miles Ransome TURNER 25th Cavalry F.F. who died 12th January 1920 aged 20 years. (Text).
806. John Brian JEFFERIS died October 29th 1918. Aged 2 months.
807. In faithful memory of Flying Officer Robert RUGHE No. 5 Squadron Royal Air Force Born 25th January 1899 Died Loralai 16th April 1920 aged 21 years. Erected by his brother officers.
808. In loving memory of Archibald GWATKIN Lieutenant 15th Lancers (Cureton's Multanis) son of Colonel F. S. Gwatkin C.B. Indian Army, killed in action at the Sharan Toi Tangi near the Afghan border on the 27th February 1909 in his 23rd year. Erected by his father and brother as a small token of love and affection for one who died doing his duty.

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809. In ever loving memory of Reginald Charles Newport (Sonnie) the loved son of Alfred and Gracie PEARSON aged 19 months. (*Text*).
810. In memory of Georgiana Susan the loving and loved wife of Alfred KEENE and daughter of the late Revd. J. W. NEAT, died 13th Oct. 1890.
811. Sacred to the memory of Captain Dudley C. JOHNSTON I.M.S. 24th Baluchistan Infantry the dearly loved son of William and Clarissa Johnston. Born 9 June 1870, murdered at Loralai 9th Jan. 1901 by a fanatic . . .
812. Sacred to the memory of Alexander Prest HOUSDEN Lieut. 18th Bengal Lancers who died at Murgha outpost on 11th April 1890, aged 25 years . . .
813. In memory of Wilfred Francis Lawrie BRIGHT Captain R.A.V.C. who was killed by raiders in the Zhob on 22nd Nov. 1921 aged 35 years. This memorial is erected by the Officers R.A.V.C. serving in India.
814. To the memory of Captain A. W. GOOLDEN 3/124th (D.C.O.) Baluchistan Infantry killed in or near Babar 16th July 1919. Erected by his brother officers.
815. R.I.P. Ralph McKeon KENNELLY died 13th Nov. 1927 aged 7 weeks.

H. BULLOCK, Capt.

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## Voices from the Past

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IN the Public Library at Lahore there exists a copy in three volumes of Dow's History of Hindustan (I) published in 1770. On the fly leaf of Vol. I appears the following note in a clear running, almost copper plate, hand:—

This paltry book was patched up by John Stewart and Fingal Macpherson under the patronage of George Johnstone, Lawrence Sullivan and the rest of that set for the special purpose of discrediting and dishonoring Lord Clive and published under the name of Alexander Dow, an ignorant stupid fellow who, to my knowledge, did not understand a word of persian (Initialled P.F.).

The initials are undoubtedly those of Philip Francis. Vol. II. contains no note of name, but Vol. III is marked P. Francis on the first fly leaf and on the last is the following in the same writing:—

When Dow's History first reached India, a gentleman at the court of Sujah ul Dowla explained to that prince the character Col. Dow had drawn of him in his History of Hindustan. The Prince at first looked serious, but soon recovering himself, laughed very heartily, and told the English gentleman that he in some measure deserved the character given him by Dow, "for, knowing as I did," said he, "that he was a writer of history, I should not have refused him: the grant of some saltpetre farms in my country, which he applied to me for."

Mahomed Reza Khan did not keep his temper quite so well in a similar situation, for, on being told what the figure he made in Dow's book, "this", exclaimed the Nabab, "is ungrateful and intolerable. When that man was first introduced to me, i was informed that he was an ingenious person. I received him as a friend to the gentleman who introduced him, and, as is our country custom, made him a handsome present to oblige that gentleman who was also a friend of mine. But, had I known that he was a drawer of characters, I would certainly have come up to his price and have had good one (character?). It would have cost him no more trouble, and, for the matter of that he is just as good a judge of one as the other."

Joseph Price, one of Hastings' creatures and champions gives the above account of Dow in a set of letters to Hastings published in 1778.

(1) For an account of "Colonel Dow and His Nephew," see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLII, pp. 55-57. There is a reference to Dow's History of Hindostan in a footnote in Chapter LVII of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon observes: "In the two first volumes of his History Colonel Dow styles himself the translator of the Persian Ferishta: but in his florid text it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original."

A pencil note in the first volume states that these books were sold by Thacker on 1.12.26 for Rs. 65.

Another interesting personal note is to be found in a copy of the Bengal Military Code of 1791 once the property of Colonel Vere Warner Hussey of the Bengal Artillery (2). Opposite the paragraph prohibiting the giving of contracts to army officers is written in a minute hand, "Lord Clive did not always adhere to this rule." Lahore.

C. GREY.

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(2) According to Major Hodson's List of Officers of the Bengal Army (Vol. II. p. 510) Hussey was admitted as an artillery cadet on October 6, 1770. He fought in the first Rohilla War under Col. Alexander Champion (battle of Miranpur Katra, April 23, 1774) and received a severe wound in the second Mysore War (1781—1785), which lamed him for life. He commanded the Bengal Artillery from October 1797 to February 1799, when he took furlough and retired on "off reckonings" on July 1, 1801 without returning to India. In 1798 he was promoted to be Major General, and in 1805 Lieutenant-General. He died in London on April 29, 1823, at the age of 76.

## Our Library Table

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*Jainism in North India (800 B.C.—A.D. 526) by Chimanlal J. Shah. (Longmans, Green & Co., London 1932. £2-2s. Net).*

Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah, the writer of this book is himself a Jain. As stated in the preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., he aims at presenting before the reader all the existing materials of the early history of this religion in Aryavarta from its philosophical, historical and legendary aspects from 800 B.C. to 526 A.D. The work is a collection of such materials scattered in different parts of North India and Mr. Shah has put together an impressive series of quotations, illustrations and maps. Much valuable information is conveyed but the quotations are too numerous and are apt divert the attention of the reader from the point at issue. On p. 5 there are ten quotations in the text of 25 lines, on p. 11 there appear nineteen quotations in a single page of 38 lines. Instances like these are not uncommon.

The early history of India is still shrouded in obscurity although the labours of various scholars in this direction as well as the healthy activities of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India have brought to light many important materials which were hitherto inaccessible. Mr. Shah has spared no pains in utilizing the results of these researches and we find extracts and quotations from almost all available works whether Eastern or European dealing with the history of the period and connected with the Jain religion. In some places however the quotations have fallen flat as was almost inevitable owing to his excessive fondness for them. But the analysis of the subject in hand is all-sided and the treatment shows vast labour.

A short Introduction is followed by eight chapters.

The first chapter deals with "Jainism before Mahavira". It consists of 12 pages only and is more or less, a summary of known materials. After Parsva's historicity we expected more facts from the history of the disciples of Parsvanath up to Mahavira. The chronological list of such pontiffs is to be found in Upakesh Gachha Pattavali. This gachha traces its origin from Parsvanath and the list was published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIX).

The next chapter deals with "Mahavira and his times". This is divided into four sections. The first of these describes the contemporary life and times of Mahavira. It is followed by the life story of Mahavira till his Nirvana. The third section is devoted to the spiritual aspect of Jainism and the last one deals with the history of its church during and after Mahavira's time.

While describing the exchange of embryo at p. 21 the conclusion reached by the writer that the event "must have been connected with one or other

social characteristics of those days'', is surely far-fetched. In the Kalpa Sutra and other Jain canons this event is clearly described as supernatural, being one of the ten miracles that had never happened in the past or will ever happen again in future. His next discussion on the date of Mahavira's Nirvana occupies about 8 pages (pp. 27-34) but the whole thing seems to be a bit futile. It is an universally accepted fact among the Jains that Mahavira's Nirvana took place 470 years before the commencement of the Vikram Era i.e., in 527 B.C. Unless this can be proved contrariwise by some authenticated materials mere speculation on the subject has but little value.

The author is to be congratulated in the able manner in which he has attempted to elucidate many technical items of Jain metaphysics as well as the important doctrine of Syadvad. In doing so he has traversed the whole range of English literature on Jainism except perhaps one or two books which also he might have profitably studied along with others.

His criticism on Dr. Barna's theory about Gosala is praiseworthy. He has successfully proved by arguments the inaccuracies of Dr. Barna's conclusions about the importance of Gosala and his relation with Mahavira and the Jain doctrine.

From p. 67 the writer traces the history of the two great divisions in the Jain Church, viz.: Svetambars and Digambars on the trodden grounds. He does not limit his period in this direction but goes on up to the 15th century and describes how other divisions among the Svetambars came about.

In chapter III Mr. Shah has dealt at great length with all the known royal families of the period who either embraced Jainism or took an active interest in its cause from B.C. 800 to B.C. 200. Facing p. 83 there are two provisional maps of India, one of the age of Parsva and the other of that of Mahavira. These would have been more useful if they had been prepared with greater accuracy. The mention of such places as Maldah and Bogra in the age of Parsva lacks the realistic touch, like that of Multan and Kathiawar in Mahavira's time.

At p. 83 he has very rightly pointed out a confusion about the name of king Prasanjit in the works of Mr. Majumdar and Mrs. Stevenson. Facing p. 90 of the same chapter we find a coloured plate containing newly painted portraits of king Kumarpal and Acharya Hem Chandra which are also out of place as they flourished several centuries afterwards. While narrating the Jain version of the conversion of Srenika or Bimbisara, king of Magadha, Mr. Shah quotes from Uttaradhyayana Sutra that King Srenika ''laid the following point before Mahavira''. There are three extracts at p. 117 from the translation of that Sutra by Jacobi (S.B.E. Vol. XLV). It was a certain monk and not Mahavira who had this discourse with king Srenika. It is difficult to say how the writer has committed this mistake in the absence of the mention of Mahavira in this connection either in the text or in the commentaries upon that Sutra or by the translator.

The fourth chapter ''Jainism in Kalinga-desa'' is more or less a corollary to the previous chapter. This occupies about 40 pages. The author deals with the existing materials in a collected form and the reader is slowly carried along through the pages of the chapter with hardly any new light.

Chapter V is on Mathura inscriptions. The matter is based for the most part on the well-known history of the Jain Church of this period based upon the materials found in the Jain Stupa excavated at Kankalitila near Mathura. While reciting the story of Kalikacharya the author says at p. 189, "since then the whole Jain community have begun the fast on the fourth" etc. This is surely misleading inasmuch as the other sect, the Digambaras, do not observe fast either on the fourth or on the fifth but their Daslakshani festival commences from the fifth. Moreover it is not probable that because as a special case one Acharya changed the particular date, the rest of the whole Jain Church would follow suit. The writer has not done justice as regards the date of the Satraps of Mathura. In the 3rd line of p. 196 he puts forward "year 42 of the Lord" etc. but this date is corrected by subsequent scholars as being "72". We come across some inaccuracies in quotations also. For example, at p. 197 footnote (3) is "Ibid, Ins: No. XXIII, p. 396", which should have been "Buhler E. I Vol. I Ins: No. XXXIII, p. 396".

The sixth chapter is a good survey of the history of Jainism during the Gupta period. It consists of 12 pages only but the author has noticed almost all the materials connected with Jainism of the period.

The most important is the seventh chapter on Jain literature. Here the author has supplied a list of the whole Jain Siddhanta or Scriptures and has pointed out the traditions of the Digambar sect as unbelievers in the sanctity of these scriptures, which are held sacred by the other sect. He has also given short notes about the contents of these scriptures which will be found to be very useful.

In the eighth and last chapter on Jain Art in the North the author has enumerated the views of many experts on the subject without however giving his own conclusions. This chapter occupies 37 pages. At p. 254 after describing diverse styles of architecture including that of the Orissa Caves, Mr. Shah quotes Dr. Buhler's comments on "Ayagapattas". As a Jain scholar we expected some research by him on the origin of this word.

Apart from these few drawbacks, the style of the writer is easy and graceful. As a young author he deserves to be congratulated upon his brilliant labours towards the glorification of the history of his own religion. The price of two guineas is rather high for a poor country like India. But both the get-up of the book and the illustrations are all that could be desired.

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## The Editor's Note-Book.

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**T**WO hundred years—on December 6, 1732—in the secluded Oxfordshire village of Churchill, a son was born to the Rev. Penyston Hastings, the curate of the parish, to whom the name of his mother, Wester Warren was given. The event was commemorated in London by the holding of a meeting on the anniversary at the Great School, Westminster (where Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey were elected together to foundation scholarships on May 27, 1747). The meeting was organized jointly by the Royal Empire Society and the Governors of Westminster School: and the Dean of Westminster presided, the speakers being the Marquess of Reading and Sir John Marriott. At the same time an exhibition of portraits and relics of Hastings was opened at Westminster School and remained on view during the week. The assembling of the collection was due to Sir Arthur Knapp, an old Westminster who was member of Council at Fort Saint George from 1922 to 1925. Two hitherto unrecorded portraits were shown: one by Hoppner which was lent by Admiral Sir David Murray Anderson, a descendant of Hastings' life-long friend David Anderson: and the other by Raeburn, which was at one time at Rufford Abbey. Mrs. Wansbrough, the great-grand-daughter of Hastings' only sister Anne, also lent one of Lemuel Abbott's replicas. Interesting documents were likewise on view, including the original manuscript of the evidence at the trial which was used by Hastings' solicitor and a draft minute dated April 21, 1775 in the handwriting of Hastings and initialled by Monson, Barwell, Francis and Clavering which was lent by Sir Evan Cotton. The afternoon gathering was followed by an evening meeting in the rooms of the Royal Empire Society when the chair was taken by Sir Austen Chamberlain and an historical appreciation of Hastings was given by Professor Dodwell of London University. Another exhibition consisting chiefly of Hastings MSS. was arranged at the British Museum, to which important contributions were added from the India Office Records. In the morning wreaths were placed on the Hastings' memorial in Westminster Abbey on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, the Worcestershire Association (Daylesford where Hastings lived and where he died on April 22, 1818, is in that county, the boys of Westminster School, and by retired members of the Indian Civil Service, who were represented by Sir Reginald Craddock, M.P.

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A SIMILAR exhibition of Hastings' portraits and relics was held in Calcutta in the Durbar Hall at the Victoria Memorial. No more appropriate place could have been chosen for, thanks to the foresight of Lord Curzon and the generosity of Miss Marian Winter the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings, the Victoria Memorial Hall possesses an unique collection of relics of Hastings: and Sir Richard Westmacott's statue now stands in one of the loggias. Every effort was made by Mr. Percy Brown to collect all other available material in Calcutta: and a notable exhibit was the well-known portrait by Tilly Kettle which was lent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The copy from the Town Hall of the famous portraits by Devis (which is at Delhi) was also lent by the Corporation of Calcutta.

MAHARAJA BAHADUR Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore has in his well-known art collection of Daniells paintings the picture (3 feet by 4 feet) to which allusion was made in a recent review of Sir William Foster's book on British Artists in India (Vol. XLII, p. 138). The picture was formerly the property of Colonel John Harvey, D.S.D. of lackwell Bury, Biggleswade, England. It represents the reception by a British Officer surrounded by his staff (of whom one is waving a Union Jack above his head) of a Mahomedan nobleman of high rank who is surrendering a green standard bearing his Arms, and whose youthful son stands just behind him dressed in a light canary coloured garment bedecked with jewels. A spirited horse which is being held by a *sais* occupies the left hand of the canvas; and an elephant, from which the Indian noblemen have evidently just descended, fills the background on the right. There can be little doubt, as the result of further enquiry, that the subject is the meeting of Lord Clive with Nawab Mir Jaffer and his son Miran after the battle of Plassey. After the picture had been cleaned the following inscription clearly written by the artist was discovered on the left hand corner of the canvas: "Meeting of Lord Clive and the Nawab of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, 25th June 1757." The identification of the artist is more difficult, but it is probable that the composition is the work of Mather Brown who painted several Indian historical pictures. The Maharaja has presented a photographic enlargement of original size picture to Government House, Calcutta, and a copy to the Secretary of State for India for the India Office.

MENTION may be made of another interesting picture—a large portrait group (9 feet by 6 ft. 2 in.) of "Mrs. Plowden and her children in Hindoostanee dress" by John Russell, R.A., which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797. The lady is seated on the left of the canvas, with a little boy at her knee. Two little girls



THE MEETING OF LORD CLIVE AND NAWAB MIR JAFIR AFTER THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

By Victor Brown  
 From the Picture in the Chamber of  
 Mir Jafir at Plassey, 1757







MRS. PLOWDEN AND FAMILY,  
By John Russell, R.A.,

Reproduced by permission from the Picture  
in the collection of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomari Tagore.



are at play on the right ; and behind them is a young man with a slight black moustache who is holding a fly-whisk. The picture was previously in the collection of Lady Vaux of Harrowden, daughter of Sir William Chichele Plowden (1832-1915) K.C.S.I., M.P. (Bengal Civil Service, 1852-1885). Her grandfather, William Henry Chichele Plowden (Canton Establishment, 1805-1833, Director of the East India Company, 1841-1853), who died in 1880 in his ninety-third year and who was present as a boy at Hastings' trial in Westminster Hall, was one of the younger children of Richard Chichele Plowden (1743-1830) and Sophia Prosser, the lady in the picture. Richard Plowden accompanied his brother-in-law Edward Wheler to Calcutta in 1777 as his private secretary, and two years later was nominated commandant of the Nawab Wazir's bodyguard at Lucknow. He was subsequently (1784) a member of the Committee of Accounts at Calcutta and left India in 1790. In 1787 he paid a visit to Lucknow with his wife, in order to recover the price of a house which he had sold to the Nawab Wazir for £3000. During this visit Mrs. Plowden wrote in her diary on July 26, 1788: "Heard from Major Palmer that he has got my title [of Begum] from the king [Shah Alam] ; the patent making out." In this document (which is still preserved in the family) she is described as "the Bilkis [Queen of Sheba] of her age." Mr. and Mrs. Plowden had eleven children. The young man in the picture is Edward the Eldest who was born in 1779 and died unmarried in 1806: and the little boy is probably William who was born in 1787. Judging from their appearance, the little girls may be identified as the two youngest daughters, Julia and Lucretia, who both died young. But one of them may be their elder sister Emma, who was educated for about a year with Princess Charlotte—the daughter of George the Fourth, and lived to be eighty-four: she married Capt. (afterwards Major-Gen.) George White. Three of the sons of "Begum" Plowden were nominated to writerships in Bengal through the influence of their father who was a Director from 1803 to 1829: Richard (B.C.S. 1799-1825), who was followed by his two sons Richard the third (B.C.S. 1825-1827) and Augustus Udny (B.C.S. 1827-1842): Trevor the first (B.C.S. 1801-1836), from whom Lady Lytton is descended ; and George Augustus who died in Calcutta on November 18, 1804, seven months after his arrival in India.

WE understand that the Maharaja intends to present to the Victoria Memorial Hall an original manuscript on Hindu music which he has lately purchased in Europe. The first three pages

A Manuscript on Hindu Music. (two of which are illuminated) contain a preface, in Persian verse, and the last page, which is written in prose and in red ink, states that the work was undertaken by command of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) and was completed at Kabul by Nadir Shah. It would seem that it formed part of the plunder taken at the sack of Delhi in 1739, and conveyed by Nadir Shah to Kabul and thence to Persia. Both Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah are known to have had a strong predilection for Hindu music. The story goes that on the morning of

his departure from Delhi, Nadir Shah refused to interrupt the singing of a Hindu song, saying, "Let an Empire go but not a *tori*." (1) The manuscript is illustrated with eighty four miniatures in gold and colours, personifying the six main *rāgs*, each with its attendant *ragīnees* (wives) and *puttras* or *uparāgs* (sons). These *rāgs* (2) and *ragīnees* (2) illustrate tribal songs, poems, and devotional compositions set to music. On the reverse of each miniature is a description of the picture and an account of the origin of the Hindu melody, in Persian Verse. A translation is being made of the manuscript under the direction of the Maharaja who is adding his own comments. It will be presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall with the Maharaja's valuable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on Hindu music. The gift is unique and the Maharaja's generosity will be widely appreciated.

THE subjoined extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, October 20, 1814, which is printed in Sandeman's *Selections* (Vol. IV, p. 370) affords an interesting glimpse of the leading personages in the Hindu society of Calcutta and of the entertainments given by them to celebrate the Durga Puja one hundred and eighteen years ago :

The Hindoo holidays of the Doorga Poojah began yesterday and will continue until the 25th instant. The principal days of entertainment are the 20th, 21st, and 22nd ; on which Nikhee the Billington of the East, will warble her lovely ditties at the hospitable mansion of Rajah Kishun Chund Roy and his brothers, the sons of the late Rajah Sookh Moy Roy. Nor will the hall of Baboo Neel Mony Mullick resound less delightfully with the affecting strains of Ushoorun, who for compass of voice and variety of note, excels all the damsels of Hindostan. Misree, whose graceful gestures would not hurt the eye of Parisot, will lead the fairy dance on the boards of Baboo Joy Kishun Roy's happy dwelling. At Rajah Raj Kishun's may be viewed with amazement and pleasure the wonderful artifices and tricks of legerdemain of an accomplished set of jugglers, just arrived from Lucknow. Baboo Gopce Mohun Deb urged by his usual

(1) *Toree*, a *Ragini*, one of the wives of *Malcou's Rag*. This *Ragini* has been described as "a delicate minstrel clothed in a white *saree*. Her fair skin is tinged and perfumed with touches of camphor and saffron. She stands in a wild romantic spot playing on the *veen*. The skill with which she strikes that instrument has so fascinated the deer in the neighbouring groves, that they have forgot their pasture, and stand listening to the notes which she produces."

(2) The science of Hindu music is personified in six (according to Hunoomana five) principal *Ragas* or major modes ; to each of which is attached six *Raginis*, or minor modes of the same strain, representing so many deities or princes with six wives to each. The performance of each undivided or unmixed melody is exclusively restricted to some season of the year or point of time in the twenty four hours of the day, at which only it is opportune or admissible.

anxiety to contribute to the amusement of the public, has besides a selection of the most accomplished nautch girls, engaged a singularly good buffoon whose performances and those of a boy, who has the uncommon faculty of being able to dance with impunity on the naked edge of two swords, may claim the title of unique. Besides these, the respective residences of Baboo Goopee Mohun Thakoor and Baboo Gooroo Purshad Bhowe, have each their individual cause of attraction, and promise to repay by a full measure of delight those who are content to forsake the calm repose of peaceful slumbers for the hum of men and the bustle and squeeze of crowded assemblies.

THE portrait of Sir John Anstruther, Chief Justice of Bengal from 1797 to 1806, which hangs in the Chief Justice's Court, and of which William Hickey gives such an unflattering account, is thus described in an earlier extract (*Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday June 26, 1806) in the same volume (p. 164):

Sir John Anstruther's  
Portrait in the High  
Court.

A fine portrait of Sir John Anstruther, Bart., has been placed in the Court House, agreeably to a resolution and request of the Grand Jury in December last. The likeness of that excellent and upright Magistrate (*sic*) is remarkably striking, and when we say that the picture is one of the best efforts of the pencil of Home, we render a more copious display of the merits of this noble painting unnecessary. His Lordship is represented in his robes, sitting in his chair as Chief Justice, his right hand resting on a book to which he seems to have been recently referring. The regalia of office, books, papers, etc., are disposed with much judgment, and though numerous do not confuse or fatigue the eye. A few Indian figures are introduced, one of whom is particularly well-drawn. He appears fixed in a profound attention, and his countenance is strongly expressive of the admiration with which it is inspired by the wisdom and dignity of the Chief Justice.

According to Home's record of pictures painted by him in Calcutta (of which a copy is preserved at the National Portrait Gallery), he received Rs. 3500 for this full length portrait and Rs. 500 for a head which he painted at the same time. Sir John Anstruther sat to him in December 1805.

THE decision of the Government of India to abolish the Corps of Pioneers involves the disappearance of several historic battalions. The Madras Pioneers are made up of such famous "Coast" regiments as the old 1st, 4th and 21st Madras Infantry. The 1st was raised at Fort Saint George in 1758 and the 4th (*Baillic-ka-pultan*) in the following year: the 21st was formed at

Disappearance of His-  
toric Regiments.

Chicacole in 1786 from the Ganjam Sebundies (local levies). The 4th fought at Sholinghur with Coote, at Assaye under Wellesley: and were honoured with the badge of the Elephant. All there helped to storm Seringapatam in 1799. Under Lord Kitchener's scheme of reorganization in 1903, they were re-named as the 61st, 64th, and 81st Pioneers. The Corps of Bombay Pioneers is composed of three Bombay regiments—the old 7th, 21st and 28th—and, incongruously enough of a Bengal battalion the old 12th Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment. The 7th Bombay Infantry was raised in 1788: and it was one of the three which defeated Tippoo Sultan at Seedaseer (Siddheswar) on March 5, 1799. A feat which is commemorated on its colours. The 21st which was formed at Bombay in 1777 as the Marine Battalion, retained that designation until 1903. It had for its regimental badge an anchor and laurel wreath, with a Hindustani motto corresponding with "Per Mare per Terram." The old Bengal Army had its counterpart. Up to 1824 the 20th Bengal Infantry was a Marine Battalion and wore "anchor buttons"; in that year its battalions were re-numbered as the 25th and the 40th, neither of which survived the Mutiny. The 28th Bombay Infantry was a modern regiment and dated from 1846. Two battalions of the Sikh Pioneers—the former 23rd and 32nd Sikhs—were raised in 1857, and the third, the former 34th Sikhs, in 1887. In the old days they recruited only Mazbi and Ramdasia Sikhs. The Hazara Pioneers were raised at Quetta by Sir Claud Jacob in 1904.

**THE** Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment deserves a paragraph to itself. No regiment in the Indian Army has been subjected to so many startling changes.

The Kelat-i-Ghilzie  
Regiment.

It was raised at Ludhiana in 1838 as the 3rd Infantry Regiment of Shah Shujah's Force by Capt. (afterwards Major-General), W. F. Beatson a most distinguished Bengal officer, who served while on furlough from 1832 to 1837 with the British Legion in Spain, organized the Turkish Bashi—Bazouks during the Crimean War, and finally raised two regiments of Beatson's Horse during the Mutiny. For its gallant defence of the Fort of Kelat-i-Ghilzie from November 1841 until the end of May 1842, it received the title of the Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment and the badge of a mural crown inscribed "Invicta", and was authorized to carry an honorary colour of blue, yellow and red (the colours of the old Indian military medal) in horizontal stripes. Besides Kelat-i-Ghilzie, its regimental colours were inscribed with such engagements as "Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool", all dating from 1842. It fought also at Maharajpore in 1843. For forty-two years (1861 to 1903) it was borne on the cadre of the Bengal Army as the 12th (Kelat-i-Ghilzie) Regiment. In 1903 it was suddenly transformed into the 12th Pioneers, and in 1922, while keeping its honorary colours, (which had ceased to have any meaning), it was deprived of its connexion with Bengal, and ordered to be known as the 2nd battalion of the Bombay Pioneers.

CAPTAIN BULLOCK has succeeded in establishing the identity of the French officer in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was killed at the battle of Assaye (September 23, 1803). The details of his discovery were published in the *Statesman* of September 4. Compton in his "Military Adventures in Hindusthan" describes him as an "European of distinction", but finds it "difficult to surmise whom this could have been." It is clear, however, from the references in Wellington's Despatches (enlarged edition 1852, Vol. I, p. 798) and Carter's "Medals of the British Army" (1861) that his name was Dorson and that he is the individual whom Compton calls "Brigade-Major D'Orton." He is mentioned in the memoirs of Williams Long which were published at Calcutta in the *Indian Review* for 1839-1840. Long was himself an officer in Sindhia's service, and relates how very shortly after joining the Mahratta army at Poona, he was sent with a detachment "under the command of a Captain Dorson, a Frenchman of the old school of monarchical France", whom Perron had promoted to be senior Captain with the Deccan forces. In a later passage he says that Dorson had been a Mogul officer and "was very proud of the titles" recited in his *sanad* or commission. He adds that Dorson was "a weak man, an hesitating and imbecile character."

LONG had left the Maharatta service a month before the battle of Assaye. On August 19, 1803, he resigned the command of his battalion under Pedron at Aligarh and went over to the British on the invitation of Lake whose knowledge of Hindustani was (he says) almost confined to the words "laul shrub." He settled at Calcutta in his old age and died there in April 1842, in his seventy-first year. There is a sketch of him in Colesworthy Grant's "Outline Portraits" (1833-1850). His tomb is in the cemetery in Lower Circular Road. Extracts from his memoirs were printed in the *Statesman* of June 19, June 26, July 3, and July 10, 1932. They are well worth reading.

THE death was announced on September 15 of Mr. Henry Goschen, one of the very last surviving servants of the East India Company, in his ninety-sixth year. He was a brother of Viscount Goschen (whose son, the second viscount, was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1924 to 1927) and of Sir W. E. Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin when war was declared on Germany in 1914. Entering the Bengal Army in 1856, he found himself at Agra with the 3rd Bengal Europeans when the Mutiny broke out in the following year. He was put in temporary command of a battery of artillery and took part in the pursuit of Tantia Topee. When the 3rd Europeans were absorbed into the British Army in 1861 as the 107th Foot, he transferred to the



2nd Punjab Cavalry (now the 22nd Sam Browne's Cavalry) but was obliged by a breakdown in health to retire in 1866. Thereafter he became a partner in his father's banking house. He retained to the last a vivid memory of India as he had known it.

**C**OLONEL Archibald Irvine, the painter of the picture of Darjeeling in 1841, of which an account was given in the last issue (*ante.*, pp. 74, 100-102) was connected through his wife with the Thackerays. Colonel Archibald Emily Thackeray, a sister of Richmond Thackeray, the Irvine. novelist's father, and one of the daughters of "Sylhet" Thackeray, married John Talbot Shakespear (B.C.S. 1801-1825). Their son was Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear, who married one of the daughters of George Powney Thompson (see Vol. XLII, pp. 159-160). Of their daughters, Augusta married General Sir John Low (1788-1880) and had three children: Charlotte, wife of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, 5th baronet (B.C.S. 1848-1866), General Sir Robert Cunliffe Low (1838-1915), Bengal Cavalry, Commander-in-Chief in Bombay from 1898 to 1903, and William Malcolm Low (B.C.S. 1856-1877). Charlotte the second, married I. H. Crawford (B.C.S. 1829), Col. Irvine married the third, Marianne, at Allahabad on March 27, 1835: and one of their daughters, Mary Anne, married Octavius Butler Irvine (Madras C.S. 1856-1880), Judge of Cuddalore. Mr. J. J. Cotton in his *Madras Monumental Inscriptions* (p. 154) tells us of an interesting memorial of old residents of Cuddalore in the shape of a whist box presented to the Station Club in 1865 by thirteen of its original members, of whom Irvine and Dr. Busteed are two. Various Latin mottoes are inscribed on the sides.

**D**R. BUSTEED was Civil Surgeon of Cuddalore at the time: and within the deserted ruins of Fort Saint David a small tomb bearing a Latin inscription may be seen which he erected in memory of Nettle, a favourite terrier who was bitten by a snake in 1862. All that is left of the historic Fort (writes Mr. Cotton) is the foundation with here and there masses of the broken wall and subterranean galleries which are now chocken up.

An Echo from Fort Saint David.

**I**N the note on "The Lawrences and the Impeys" (*ante.*, p. 93), it should have been mentioned that Col. Eugene Impey married in 1858 a daughter of Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence. He was therefore the nephew by marriage of Lord Lawrence, whose military secretary he was. In addition to Mr. G. H. Lawrence, another son of Sir George Lawrence entered the Bengal Civil

The Lawrences and the Impeys.

Service. This was the late Mr. Alexander John Lawrence, C.I.E. (1837-1905) who served in the United Provinces from 1856 to 1891 and married a daughter of William Edwards B.C.S. (died 1890) who edited Sir George Lawrence's "Reminiscences of Forty Three Years in India" (1875), and published also his own "Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian" (1866).

**EDWARDS**, whose youngest son, Lt. Col. A. H. M. Edwards was military secretary to Lord Curzon in 1905, came out to India in 1837, travelling over land. He relates in his book how the journey was made at the suggestion of Sir James Rivett-Carnac "in order to test its practicability as a route for mails and passengers." Accompanied by Captain (afterwards General) Lachlan MacQueen, of the 3rd Madras Cavalry, sailed from Falmouth on May 4, 1837. Alexandria was reached on May 22, after a change of vessel at Malta. There was one hotel in the place—"a very indifferent one, kept by a Scotchwoman." Taking charge of the Indian mail, "which had been forwarded by this route chiefly as an experiment," then proceeded in a country boat to Cairo. "The only means of progress was by towing," and the heat was as troublesome as the mosquitoes "and all kinds of vermin." At Cairo they lodged at Hill's Hotel and fell in with Colonel Vyse of the Life Guards, "a gentleman of large fortune and ardent antiquarian tastes, who was employed in excavating, at his own expense, the larger pyramid." On May 27 they started, with a procession of two dromedaries and seven baggage-camels, on the two days' journey across the desert to Suez. On reaching Suez, "one of the most desolate places on the face of the earth", there was no sign of the expected warship which was to convey them to Bombay, and they embarked on an Arab *buggala*, which was taking military stores to Hodeida. The voyage to that place, which was attended by much discomfort, lasted until June 12. Here they transhipped to a pilgrim boat which was bound for Jeddah, where they arrived on June 13. Another Arab vessel conveyed them to Mocha and there on June 20, they described two British ships of war riding at anchor. The remainder of the journey to Bombay (June 23 to July 8) was made on the Company's survey brig *Palinurus*. Leaving Bombay in a small vessel at the end of August, Edwards finally landed at Calcutta on September 13, when he learned that the *Reliance*, which had started on the round voyage a month before him, had just arrived. In the winter of 1852 Edwards took his first furlough and returned overland to India in November 1854, meeting his old travelling companion, General Mac Queen, at Suez. "But how different was the scene! Instead of the miserable *buggala*, and the single box of mails, there was a splendid first-class screw steamer, carrying 300 passengers and 700 boxes of mails."

FROM 1847 to 1852, Edwards was Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, and owned "The Retreat" at Mashobra, which is now the country residence of the Viceroy. It had then no upper story (Sir Edward Buck tells us in his *Simla Past and Present*) but there was a verandah on the north facing the snows. Edwards sold the house to his successor Lord William Hay (afterwards tenth Marquess of Tweeddale), who died in 1914 at the age of eighty-five. It then became known as "Larty Sahib ki Koti." From 1869 to 1888 it belonged to the elder Sir Edward Buck (B.C.S. 1862-1897) and Lord Roberts lived there for four years. It was acquired for the Viceroy's use in 1896.

TWO remarkable instances of longevity are recorded by Edwards in Chapter XVII of his book. On his return from furlough in 1854 he was posted to the district of Budaon in Rohilcund as magistrate and collector. In January 1857 he was marching through the north of the district when he came across two aged Mahomedans, of whom one claimed to be 125 years old and the other 150. The younger patriarch, who was bedridden, told him that he remembered the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, which took place in 1739 when he was seven years old, and that he had been present as an officer in the Mogul army at the battle of Panipat in 1761. The elder man had been born in the village and had never left it. He could recall the time when the country was all jungle and when the cultivators were obliged to carry their weapons when they went to work in the fields.

A FORMIDABLE rival to these individuals appears to be alive to-day. According to the Census Commissioner, a man has been discovered in the Central Provinces who claims to have been born "when Warren Hastings ruled." If the statement is accepted, he must be 150 years old: for Warren Hastings resigned the office of Governor General of Bengal in February 1785. But, in view of the fact that he "still sats gargantuan meals", it is suggested that he was more probably born during the ten years (1813 to 1823) that the Marquess of Hastings was Governor-General. This would not prevent him from "remembering the Indian Mutiny as an event of his later middle age."

WE are glad to observe that the Allahabad Archaeological Society is giving attention to the antiquities of Kara, or Currah, near Sirathu and about forty miles to the north of Allahabad. The provinces of Corah (Kora) in the Fatehpur district and Currah were taken from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh by Clive in 1765 and handed over to the

Emperor Shah Alam. Kara was also the capital of the Khiliji Kings and was the scene in 1296 of the murder of Ala-ud-din Khilji of his uncle, the Emperor Jalal-ud-din, on his return from his victorious march through the Deccan. But its history goes back to an even earlier period. A triangular copper plate with an inscription in the Kharosthi script has been discovered, which is believed to be of a date subsequent to 600 B.C. ; and it has been placed in the Allahabad Museum. Kara was visited by Thomas and William Daniell in October 1789, on their way down the Ganges from Cawnpore to Allahabad. They spent two days there and "collected a number of very good subjects—could have wished to spend another day." An oil-painting of a "View near the Fort of Currah" was exhibited by Thomas Daniell at the Royal Academy in 1801 and is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall : and there are no less than three aquatints of Currah in *Oriental Scenery*, one in the first series (plate 21) and two in the third series (plates 1 and 21). On the opposite side of the river is Manikpur, a village in the Partabgarh district, where the Daniells likewise made a number of sketches. A volume of "views round Kurrah" by a later visitor, Capt. George Abbott (1803-1838) of the 15th Bengal Infantry, which was published at Calcutta in 1830, is in the Lyell collection ; it is bound up with McCurdy's views of the Nilgiris and Kershaw's views of the Burman Empire.

**A** ROCK inscription, thirty two feet in length, and believed to date back to the year 2000 B.C. has been discovered in a cave at Vikramkhole, near Sambalpur railway station. It was at first supposed that it was one of the Rock Edicts of Asoka, but this is not the view held by such learned archæologists as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna. The script is neither Brahmi nor Pali, but midway between Brahmi and the script of Mohenjo-daro. According to Mr. Jayaswal, the inscription is likely to prove that Brahmi was derived from the so-called Mans Valley script, and Phœnician from Brahmi. The contrary theory has hitherto found favour with scholars.

**A** BLACK stone image of Vishnu with ten arms, has been dug up in a field near Agartala and presented to His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura. It is two feet high and stands on a lotus. Different weapons are carried in eight of the arms, and the other two rest on the heads of Lakshmi and Saraswati—the goddesses of wealth and learning—who are standing on either side. There is no inscription, but the distinctive garments and jewellery, and the rounded stela at the top are thought to indicate the ninth century as a probable date.

MAHARAJA BAHADUR Sir Pradyot Coomer Tagore, calls our attention to a curious interpretation of the Bengali word সাবর (Sabar) as "softened skin", which appeared on page 53 of

*Sabar the Skin of Sambar Deer.* *Bengal : Past and Present*, Volume XLIV, Part I.

Apparently Mr. Sarkar has been misguided by the meaning of the word given in page 915 of Jogesh Chandra Roy's *Bangla Sabda Kosh* (dictionary). Maharaja Bahadur gives the correct meaning of the word in his letter saying, "... the hide of the Sambar deer, which are found in innumerable numbers in the regions of the Himalayas and the Nepal forests. It is therefore not a 'soft skin' but the skin of Sambar deer which becomes soft and smooth after tanning. These hides are regarded as very sacred and are generally used for devotional purposes by orthodox Hindus and *sannyasis*. I am sorry to observe that this gentleman (lexicographer) is wholly wrong in construing the true meaning of the word as 'softened skin' whereas it is *not*". According to Platts, it may be added, that it is a Hindi word (from Sanskrit *Sambara*, a deer) meaning "A large species of stag, a kind of elk ;—leather of elk's (or any kind of deer's) hide, chamois, wash leather". One would tell that from common use the word 'sambar' has dropped the 'm', and hence the colloquial 'sabar'. We offer our thanks to the Maharaja Bahadur.

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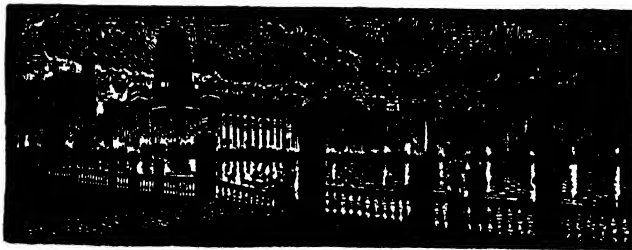
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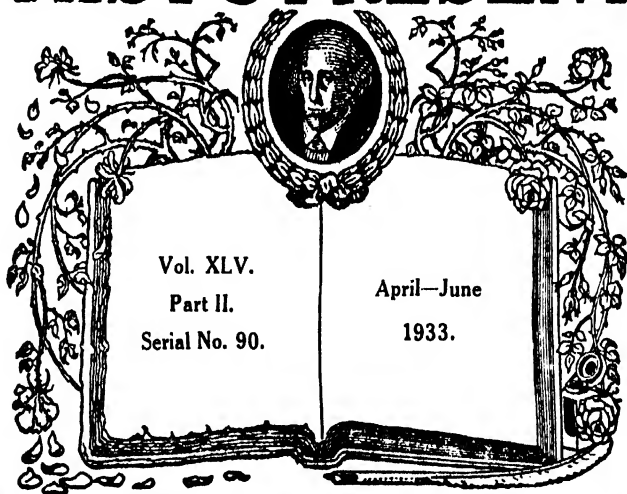
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# Voyage of H. M. S. Harwich to India in 1745—1749.

*Note.—This Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies (1745-1749) was found among the papers relating to Indian history, collected by John Bruce, author of the “Annals of the East India Company” and Historiographer to the East India Company and is reproduced by kind permission of the authorities of H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh. The spelling of the original has been retained.*

A. C.

Note presumed by John Bruce found with MS. of Journal now published.

In searching an old desk I found the Journal of a Voyage to India in the *Harwich* which had remained at the bottom under other useless Books unnoticed for 50 years past, and that I might amuse a solitary hour with the retrospect of Scenes in early Life I determined to revise, correct and transcribe it with such authentic additions as I could recollect—Being this 2d May 1801 within a few days of my 80th year.

JOURNAL of a Voyage to the East Indies in His Majestys Ship  
*Harwich* of 50 Guns and 350 Men, Capt. Philip Carteret by  
James Mitchell, Captains Clerk.

On the 21st February 1745 Sailed from Spithead with a gentle Breeze easterly with Rear Admiral Medley in the *Ipswich* of 60, *Jersey* of 60, *Winchester* of 50, *Ludlow Castle* of 40, and *Gosport* of 40 Guns, Nine East India Ships and upwards of 100 other vessells ; but the breeze dying away anchor'd at St. Helens ; and the wind then veering to the westward remained there two days, when we were joined by the *Exeter* of 60 and *Maidstone* of 50 Guns.

On the 24th weighed with a fresh gale northerly and were soon joined by the *Sutherland* of 50, *Lark* of 40, *Torrington* of 40 Guns and several Merchant Vessels from Plymouth.

On the 26th the wind returned to the West and blew fresh with much snow ; We bore away by Signal for Torbay where we anchored the 27th at 5 P.M. The wind veering next morning to the eastward, and blowing fresh, with a great swell into the Bay ; a Signal was made to weigh ; many Ships unable to purchase their Anchors were obliged to cut their Cables : much

confusion ensued from such a numerous Fleet turning out of the Bay—a Storeship for Gibraltar, and a Ship for Mahon were stranded on the rocks and most of the crews perished; two Vessells were run abroad and dismantled, and the *Royal George* India Ship lost her Bowsprit and returned to Spithead to refit. At 6 P.M. joined the Fleet with the loss of a Cable and anchor; the wind then shifting to the North and blowing fresh—29th calm, the Lizzard bearing NNE distant 3 leagues; at noon a breeze from the south gradually increasing to a storm; with much rain, a raging Sea and dark night.

1st March at 4 A.M. very dark; a Signal to wear and bring too on the other Tack; narrowly escaped being run down three several times by three large Ships. At day-light perceived the *Ipswich* had lost her Foremast; ran under her Stern and hailed; was informed the *Winchester* had drove on board and carried away the Foremast while 28 of their best men were furling the Foretopsail who all perished; the *Winchester* Quarter galleries were tore away. The Admiral ordered Captain Carteret to make the signal to bear away and to lead the Fleet to Plymouth; by a small Sail raised on the stump of the Foremast he followed us. At 6 P.M. anchored in Plymouth Sound, most of the Merchant Ships proceeding to Catwater (1) and the *Ipswich* betwixt Drakes Island and the Main from whence she was next day warped into Hammoze (2) all busy repairing the damages sustained in the storm.

On the 8th the *Sunderland* and *Chester*, of 60 guns each, arrived with a French prize of 500 Tuns, 22 Guns and 150 Men from the Mississippi valued at £40,000. Vice-Admiral Martin with seven Ships of war sailed on a cruise.

On the 14th April after waiting impatiently lest we should lose the proper season for India, the Ships being fully repaired, The Admiral and Fleet weighed from Plymouth Sound with a fine breeze at SE.

The 15th A.M. the Lizzard at a great distance scarce perceptible, the last view of Britain. A pleasant Gale across the Bay, nothing else remarkable.

On the 17th the *Lark* and her convoy for Newfoundland parted Company, and soon after the *Ludlow Castle* & *Torrington* with the Lisbon Convoy.

The 19th the *Sutherland*, *Gosport* and Ships for Guinea seperated, and in Latitude 42.00 we made the signal of separation from the Admiral, with the *Winchester* and East India Ships.

The 25th in Latitude 35.00 The *Dolphin*, *London*, *Essex* and *Queen Caroline* India Ships left us, and on the 27th we discovered Madeira and anchored in Funchal road with the *Winchester*, Lord Thomas Bertie, Captain, and the *Scarborough*, *Lincoln*, *Kent*, and *Admiral Vernon* Indiaships our proper Convoy.

Madeira lyes in from 32 to 33 degrees North Latitude and 16 degrees west Longitude and from the sea appears like a very steep high mountain

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(1) Estuary of the river Plym at Plymouth.

(2) Hammoze—estuary of the Tamar, the principal anchorage for ships of war in Plymouth harbour.

dropt into the Ocean ; the nearest Land (the Deserta's, some small neighbouring uninhabited Islands excepted) to the east being to Sallee in Africa 100 leagues and the same distance south to the Canaries. The Portuguese sent Colonies here in 1425 who found it covered with wood which they mostly burnt, the ashes fertilized the soil and rendered it very productive of Vines with a surprising luxuriance of Grapes which they have cultivated ever since and make prodigious quantities of Wine ; Malmsey the richest and dearest ; a very pale red at £13 p. pipe the sort mostly exported to Europe and the East and West Indies ; and a inferior kind of a deeper red, and presently sold for £10 p. pipe mostly used for the Crews of Vessells &ca. instead of small Beer or Spirits. The Island abounds in Oranges, Limes, Pineapples, Bananas &ca. Roots and Vegetables ; the Animal food we found very indifferent. Funchiale the Capital is situated on the South East side of the Island, the streets narrow and dirty ; the Churches much tho' not elegantly ornamented ; the Convents neat and Nuns allowed to come to the Gate at certain hours to sell their manufacture of curious artificial Flowers, Baskets &ca. In a small Chapel of one of the Convents the sides and ceiling were decorated with human Sculls and other Bones. Were often visited by a very corpulent Padre or Priest on pretence of Traffect, but secretly for a certain sum offering to procure Bona Proba's for those that would advance it ; but met with no success in our Ship, indeed was turned away with disgrace. The Beech is shelving and consists of large Pebbles, very dangerous for Boats when there is a Surf, which frequently happens.

Having got a supply of Wine, Water and Wood Sailed with the Convoy early in the morning of the 14th May with the land breeze and before night were out of sight of the Island ;

The 15th and 16th a dead calm with a clear cloudless sky and insufferably hot ; our skins inflame full of red spots termed the prickly Heat, a burning itchy tormenting pain, but reckoned very Salutory.

17th at noon small blue spots appear in the distant east (Cats paws in the sea phrase) gradually encreasing to a breeze and the regular North east Trade wind, with fleecy clouds passing amongst a light blue Ether ; What a change from a stagnate, flaring, fiery atmosphere to the cooling chearful Gale ! in Latitude 29.00. Flying Fish innumerable spring from the deep and often skim the wave to renew the moisture of their wings or rather expanded webbed Fins, where they frequently become a prey to Boneta's, Dolphins, Albecores &ca. in constant pursuit of them. For ten days we glided pleasantly to the south at the rate of 7 & 8 miles a hour with all Sails set without having occasion to make alteration, during which time the sailors, encouraged by the Officers, engaged in a variety of amusements such as "Stom the Castle—the Miller—King Arthur—the Judge—a rude Harlequin—Cudgels—dancing &ca by day : At night singing, telling humorous Stories, many of them indelicate and laughable, or feats of Heroism. As we approached the 8th degree of latitude the clouds thickened darkened and the east wind gradually verged to a calm. Clouds piled upon clouds sooty and dark on the 28th involved us in dismal gloom with light airs of tepid winds in all directions, preceeding torrents of

rain with thunder and lightning, perfectly secluded from Sun, Moon and Stars and the fair face of heaven. We obtained some amusement in this horrid atmosphere by catching Sharks, of which there were many about the ship daily ; which were greedily cut to pieces by the Sailors and relished as a fresh meal, altho a very strong and coarse repast indeed ! Here Mr. Sheppard, one of our Midshipmen of pleasing manners, well informed, jocose, affable and much esteemed, was seized with the Fever called the Calenture the disease of the climate, which proved fatal notwithstanding every attention,—with the general regret he was committed to the deep, and similar to Hamlet we recognised "his Jests, his excellent Fancy, his Gibes, his Songs and flashes of merriment that used to set the Table in a roar". In Latitude 5:00 degrees N. after much Thunder and Lightning and torrents of rain we were relieved by a gale from the south gradually verging to the east and ending in the steady SE Trade wind with a fine serene sky. Crossed the Equinoctial the 11th June. In both Trade winds the Seamen frequently struck Albecores, Dolphins or Boneta's with a fish-gig from the Spritsail yard. The Dolphin when dying exhibits a variety of beautiful collours ; sometimes we were regaled with a Turtle caught sleeping on the surface of the water.

On the 17th spoke the *Prince of Orange* East India Ship.

26th a dead calm for two days. A Fleet hove in sight ; prepared for Action (3) ; after two days disagreeable suspense a breeze sprung up, we chased and spoke with a Portuguese Ship of war of 74 guns with several large vessels under convoy for the Brazil's ; she saluted, which we returned and after mutual civilities parted.

On the 12th July lost the SE Trade wind in Latitude 25:00 south.

On the 25 at early dawn were alarmed with a cry of Land which we judged at a very great distance ; as the Light advanced perceived it was a dead whale of a monstrous size floating on the surface and the air darkened with innumerable sea Fowls, flying around it. In Latitude 30° were seperated from the *Winchester* and *Scarborough* in very hard Gales from the west with a hollow Sea—many of the crew attacked with the scurvy, some very bad.

August 11th saw two Ships in the morning far ahead, which proved to be the *Winchester* & *Scarborough*—still blowing strong from the west with a very high sea, and dark tremendous threatening clouds advancing from the North, the Land supposed at no great distance ; at noon brought too under a treblereefed Main topsail ; a short deceitful calm ensued. With dreadful fury the Tempest rushed along, leveling the waves, which midst the dark profound seemed all on fire ; a shower of pondrous hail or rain in torrents following with frequent peals of Thunder and flashes of Lightning. Our ship was laid upon her Beam-ends and the Maintopsail sheets broke from the mainyard ; the crew endeavoured by their utmost vociferation and exertion to clue it up when a sudden crack and glance of Lightning produced a instant and horrid calm, stillness and momentary Stupor. We scarce believe

(3) War had been declared between France and England in 1744.

our eyes when looking up instead of the Mainmast we see only a blasted stump with Topgallantmast and rigging over the lee side, and the waves far and near covered as with saw-dust. Three of the crew lay dead on the deck and seventeen sent forth lamentable cries, their skins being scorched black as a coal ; they all recovered. The decks were filled with smoke with a strong sulphurous smell. The Well was sounded and Ship examined, but except the loss of the mainmast and the suffering crew all was safe, and the storm passing to the south, we endeavoured and did save the floating rigging with the Topgallant mast by the amazing exertion of some of the Seamen venturing upon the wreck tossed by a tumultuous Ocean and with only the hold of a rope from the Ship, disentangling it, hoisting it on board and saving the whole ; it would have amazed persons unacquainted with the intrepidity of British seamen. Some of the effects of the Thunder were, beside those that were killed and scorched, the whole crew on the main deck were knocked down ; the first Lieutenant being on the larboard Gangway, and part of his waistcoat open, the lining was singed with the hair of his breast otherwise, tho' also knocked down, unhurt ; and many suffered in their cloaths Buttons and Buckles without any further damage. A iron band of an inch thick or upwards was thrown from the top of the mast, one half on the Forecastle, the other on the Poop. The storm succeeded by a bright azure sky and fine weather ; employed in raising a juremast.

12th delightful weather with a fine breeze from the west and the sea fallen. By the reck'nings at noon not above 12 or 15 Leagues from Tablebay at the Cape of Good Hope ; in the afternoon many land Birds exhausted by a long erratick flight alighted and were easily taken on the yards or dropt into the Sea ; and soon after amongst clouds which were often asserted to be Land, we discovered the Lyonrump, Sugar-loaf and Tableland, and a hour or two after Penguin Island. As Winter commences in May and continues until the middle of August and sometimes longer strong Gales from the NW then prevail, which blow into the bay accompanied with a heavy sea, and Ships that have ventured to stay in that season have been repeatedly wrecked with the loss of Crew, Ship and Cargo ; it was judged expedient to consult with the Officers of our own and the other Ships whether it would be safe or prudent to venture into and anchor in the Bay so early ; But as yesterdays storm at the full Moon, with the fine weather since, was judged to be probably the last of the winter Gales, and the Crews being much afflicted with the Scurvy, many in the last stages of it ; it was determined to steer for and refresh in Table Bay ; a glorious relief indeed to those who had no hope but in a speedy conveyance to land as their only chance for Life and recovery ! Every preparation was therefore made for that purpose. The breeze towards the evening declined to a perfect calm with a sea smooth as glass, the western clouds beautifully tinged by the setting sun, and the shade gradually rising from the base of the gilded hills to their tops and spreading o'er the whole horizon 'til all was lost in night when we appeared to repose in the center of a mighty globe surrounded by a fine azure undulating sky studded with stars bright and

innumerable ; the full Moon arose reflected in the deep with a tremulous silvery lustre ; all was silence save the murmurs of the waves breaking on the distant shore ; a glorious scene to a contemplative Mind ! and but rarely exhibited in this turbulent Ocean.

On the 13th August 1745 at the rising of the Sun a breeze sprung up from the NW and freshened to a pleasant Gale ; we steered betwixt the Lyons rump and Penguin Island and anchored in the Bay about noon ; the whole seemed to be occupied by Grampuses, and Threshers rearing their ponderous Tails and dashing on the tortured Whales, flouncing, snorting, blowing and tinging the wave with blood, being kept on the surface it is said by Swordfish wounding or pricking them below ; and made such a commotion that it was deem'd unsafe to risque a boat (tho eager to be on shore) until about an hour after when they left the Bay. The Fort saluted. We returned, which was echo'd and reecho'd amongst the hills for a considerable time running along 'til the sound gradually died away. The land and hills have a bare and barren and unpromising appearance from the Sea ; but on landing assumed a more favourable aspect. A large house was immediately hired for a Hospital to accomodate the sick and about a hundred were landed from our Ship and the *Winchester* afflicted with the scurvy ; except that disease, of which one died in landing, we had been remarkably healthy, having lost only poor Sheppard during the passage ; being attentive to cleanliness and the introduction of fresh Air below upon every opportunity. Mr. Thomas Wood Surgeons Mate of the *Winchester* was appointed Surgeon to the Hospital and I to furnish Provisions, and by giving them plenty of vegetables with excellent Mutton & Broth it was surprising how quickly they recovered and regained their strength. The Carpenters on shore employ'd in making a peiced Mainmast from spare Masts got from the India Ships ; but when finished considerably shorter than the mast which was blown to peices by the Thunder and was 93 feet long and 33 Inches diameter from one tree. Cape Town extends by the sea shore along Table Valley to the Company Gardens, three Streets from N to S and four from E to W with a large square adjoining to the east of the Town and a Fort and Batteries alongst the Shore. The Houses are generally low and mostly thatched to guard against the violent gusts that descend from the Hills, which has been sometimes known to lift a roof from a House altogether. When our Ships first appeared and were announced by a signal from the Lyons-rump, suspecting us to be French, the Militia from Town and Country on our arrival were under arms, which they aver on a short notice can be augmented to 12,000 effective Men. The Company's Gardens are extensive with walks 'twixt every compartment enclosed by hedges of oak from 15 to 20 feet high, neatly dressed and producing most of the Fruits, Flowers Vegetables and roots that are peculiar to the hot and temperate Climes in great abundance and perfection ; as does the private Gardens which are well dressed but with a sameness and stiffness that somehow rather cloy than pleases. The Men as in Holland are generally of a saturnine Disposition and smoke very much 'tho they are somewhat refined

by French Refugees settled amongst them and the intercourse they have with the Officers of the Ships of different Nations that touch here for water and refreshments. The Women are generally comely, sprightly and engaging, fond of Strangers, and rendering their stay as agreeable as possible, so far only as modesty will admitt, being on their guard against any indecency or even indelicacy ; the gallantries of Europe seeming hitherto to have made small progress here. Their work afield and in the house is performed by Malay Slaves brought from Batavia, of a treacherous cruel disposition, often (tho well treated) murdering their Master, Mistress &c., : a recent instance of that kind happened a few days before our arrival, for which the perpetrators were executed at the common place about two miles to the east of the town, with the most excruciating Tortures, having a long sharp iron rod on the top of a wooden post about 20 feet high run up their Fundament amongst the back bone, and left to linger exposed to the scorching rays of the sun and the attacks of ravenous Birds 'til Death comes to their relief. Curiosity led some of us to view the place, but the stench of the putrid carcasses still remaining in the situation they were executed, together with the Rack, wheels and other instruments of torture, were truly shocking and disgusting and made our stay very short : it was said that were it not for such severities the murders would be so frequent from those treacherous wretches, who despise a common death, that there would be no living there ; But Slaves, if they must have Slaves, may be procured from the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal &ca., of a mild, and when well used, a faithful disposition altho not so capable of labour ; being familiarised to such horrid scenes certainly blunts the humane feelings ; and as it is nearly in the road the Hottentots bring their several articles from the country to Cape Town for sale, it must make a very unfavourable impression on these rude but hospitable people. A woman had lately at the head of the town towards the Lyons rump early in the morning been tore and killed by a Lyon or Tyger of which they say there are numbers about the Tableland, a very high hill about four miles south of the Town, from whence they sometimes prowl into the streets in the silence of the night. Provisions are cheap ; the mutton which is excellent one Stiver to the Inhabitants and two to Strangers p. lb, the Beef, 'tho very indifferent, at the same rate ; Fish seemed to be scarce, perhaps owing to the uncommon turbulence in the Bay by the Grampus's, Threshers &ca. at our arrival ; Vegetables Fruits and Roots as before are plenty and reasonable. The common beverage to Victuals is water or a weak pale wine at a Stiver p. Bottle, the Constantia wine, of which not above 15 Tons is made in a year, is strong with a remarkable fine flavour and little of the real used here but sent to the States of Holland and by them distributed to the Potentates and other favorites in Europe ; there is also a very rich white Wine : Batavia Arrack punch is the usual convivial drink. The Ladies with sugar candy in their mouth, instead of sugar in the cup, sip Tea or Coffee from Breakfast occasionally both fore and afternoon, having it always ready before them. I was so fortunate to be often invited by an agreeable Widow Lady with four handsome Daughters whose house was next to the Hospital, by whom I was introduced to some



of the principal Families and amusements of different kinds ; they essay'd to teach me Dutch songs and the Language, and were much diverted with my blunders ; in short the six weeks we continued there was so pleasant that I viewed our departure with much reluctance ; but our men being all recovered and sent on board ; the Ships supplied with Wood, Water, Wine, Fresh meat and Vegetables, and the accounts settled and adjusted I bid adieu to the agreeable Widow and her Daughters with a heavy heart, often looking to the spot of their residence 'til the Boat came to the Ship and I could see it no more.

On the 20th September sailed from Table bay with the *Winchester*, the four East India Ships and two which joined us at the Cape viz. the *Pelham* and *Royal George* but the *Pelham* having sprung her Foremost returned to the Cape. Sailed 1200 Leagues to the eastward in Latitude  $36^{\circ}00'$  mostly with terrible Gales of wind from the west with a treblereefed Foretopsail and sometime reduced to scud under the Goosewing of the Foresail reefed before a tremendous Ocean with billows, Mountains high, where by the wafture of a rope one of our best Seamen was lost overboard ; it was impossible to give him any relief ; with deep distress we saw his struggling on the top of the following billow, and then no more.!

27th October steered to the North and on the 5th November in Latitude  $26:00$  S $^{\circ}$  encountered the SE Trade wind, very different from the steady Gale and fine weather in the Atalantic Ocean ; here it varied often with hard Squals and heavy showers of rain—the 7th00 S $^{\circ}$  a fine breeze from NW to SW to 5:00 N when a calm ensued for two days with a strong current to the north which carried us past Achin in the Island of Sumatra, where we were ordered to call, to one of the Nicobar Islands in 6:00 N., the first land we saw since our departure from the Cape, which we coasted along with the NE Trade wind which had just sprung up ; it was the southernmost Island and seemed to be entirely covered with wood, no vestige of any habitation in sight ; however two boats appeared rowing to us from the Island ; we brought too until they approached us ; they were full of men and women entirely naked, and seemed to be loaded with fruits and vegetables which we much wanted ; but notwithstanding every friendly endeavour to encourage them to row alongside and traffic with us, which they seemed sometimes inclined to do ; but after consultation and much hesitation they left us, some of them turning their breech to us and clapping their hands on it by way of contempt, others in a threatning posture brandishing their arms in defiance. What could be their motive for such a behaviour in return for our profer'd kindness we could not conceive ; but they are characterized a treacherous barbarous savage race, with whom Forreigners have no intercourse ; indeed are said to be Canibals ; they seemed to be tall, slender, well shaped, with good features of a copper colour, and as before both sexes perfectly naked without the smailest covering of any kind. We made sail across the bay of Bengal with a pleasant NE gale, and early on the 11th December discovered the coast of Coromandel ; as we approached were surprised to see numbers of naked black men apparently standing or sitting

on the water ; but as we drew near observed they were supported by three Logs of wood about 9 or 10 feet long bound together with bass and almost even with the surface of the sea, with one man in each, either fishing or  
 Madras 11th Dec. 1745.      paddling swiftly along, distant 7 or 8 Leagues from the shore ; anchored and moored in Madrass Road in the afternoon, having lost but one man by a natural death since our departure from the Cape of Good Hope.

We were soon visited by boats rowed by eight naked Blacks having only a Turban and a peice cloth descending from a cord round their middle through their Thighs up their back to the same cord, to hide what modesty prompts to conceal, with two or three passengers dressed with elegant Turbans and white cotton robes flowing to their heels, who presently advanced to the Quarter-deck ; from their elegant shape and agreeable soft youthful features we judges them to be women ; but they soon undeceived us by soliciting employment as Debashes (Brokers to transact affairs betwixt the Europeans and natives) they spoke very good English and informed us that Commodore Barnet in the *Deptford*, whose arrival they soon expected, had with the *Medway* of 60 Guns, Capt. Peyton, and the *Preston* of 50 Earl Northesk Captain, taken three French China Ships in the straits of Sunda which they sold to the Dutch at Batavia for £72,000 not half their value, as men could not be spared to navigate them to a better market.

Madrass or Fort St. George is in Latitude 13:00 N°, Longitude 80:00 from London. The British live in the Fort about a quarter of a mile long and scarce half so board, with three Companys of poor looking soldiers as a Garrison, and a Church on the south side ; the Portuguese have one on the North, which with store and dwelling houses occupys the whole space ; surrounded by a high wall and Rampart planted with Cannon ; the sea and a broad ditch partly filled with water and partly dry. The black Town adjoins to the Fort on the North, mostly poor miserable hutts 'tho of a considerable extent and very populous, having a Armenian church and several Indian Pagoda's ; lyes in a low marshy ground, which must render it very unwholesome in the rainy season commencing in October and ending about Christmass. The land around the Town, a short time before our arrival, had been overflowed, and the Natives much distressed for provisions, and their communication with the country greatly obstructed. The Beef and Mutton sent as fresh provision for the Crews of one Squadron was very poor, meer carrion, and such as the most indigent in Britain would not have tasted, altho it was good as the general run of the country ; Vegetables are scarce and very indifferent, and the water unwholsome 'til it has a small infusion of wine or spirits. The East India Company have only of Landed property a circumference of about four miles planted at the extremity with several rows of trees which is called the Bounds, beyond which the Company and Servants have no jurisdiction, and are subject to Visits from the Nizam of the Carnatic, or Nabob of Arcot with a numerous body of Horse, when they either expect or demand a liberal present, which the Governour must comply with, being in no situation to make an effectual resistance. The Governor

has a House about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 Miles from the fort, most pleasantly situated, commonly called the Garden House. At this season when the NE Monsoon prevails the air is cool & temperate with fleecy clouds gliding alongst a fine azure sky during the day ; and towards the evening settling on the distant western mountains, which divide the Peninsula, in a variety of grotesque shapes beautifully tinged at the setting Sun on the close of every day with a bright vermilion gradually fading into a deep scarlet and emitting innoxious flashes of Lightning at various parts, simular to the platoon firing of a Regiment without the noise, until night closes the grand picturesque Scene.

December 17th Commodore Barnet (4) in the *Deptford* of 60 Guns anchored in the Road.

19 The *Winchester* sailed on a cruise, supposed to the Straits of Malacca. The Commodore on the 20th removed to and hoisted his broad Pandant on board our Ship the *Harwich*, which was not very agreeable to our Captain who from being the supreme Officer of the Ship was now only a subordinate ; there was also a change of most of the Officers of the *Deptford* to our Ship.

30th The *Deptford* sailed with Troops for Fort St. Davids (a British Settlement about 30 Leagues to the Southward) which the French from Pondecherry had threatened to attack.

[1746]                      17th January 1746 The *Preston* anchored.

24 The *Dolphin* Store & Hospital Ship anchored.

25th Sailed with the *Preston* and *Dolphin* on a cruise off Pondecherry and were joined on the 27th by the *Deptford*.

29th The French again threatened to attack Fort St. Davids and put their Troops in motion accordingly ; but our Commodore having caused all the Boats manned and armed to sound closs to the shore as if he intended an attack with the Ships on Pondecherry itself, they quickly ordered back the Troops that were marching to Fort St. David, a distance only of 15 miles.

1st February the *Medway* and *Lively* of 20 Guns Capt. Stevens joined us from the straits of Malacca, where they captured a French Privateer of 16 Guns and 60 men, which they carried to Madrass. The *Deptford* & *Dolphin*, both much decayed, with the *Vernon*, *Lincoln* and *Edgebaston* East India Ships under convoy, sailed for England the 7th.

On the 11th the *Medways* Prize, commissioned for a Ship of war of 32 Guns 9 Pounders and 180 Men, arrived from Bengal with Provisions & stores

(4) He had left England with a small squadron in May 1744. The French had no ships of war to fight with, no more merchant ships to seize and the year 1745 was thus spent in a vague cruise in the Bay of Bengal. For the time being the war was at a standstill and a few weeks before a French squadron appeared, Barnett died.

D. N. B.

for the Squadron, and in her passage a French Ship of 400 Tons was delivered to her by 24 British Seamen who in a open boat surprized and captured her on the coast of Siam in the night-time.

20th Sailed for Madrass to take in a new peiced Mast of Teak made of the same dimentions of the mast destroyed by the Thunder.

4th March joined the Squadron cruizing to the South of Pondecherry. It will be proper here to observe that every opportunity was seized to excercise the Squadron and make them alert in the management of the Ships by attending and conforming to the Signals with expedition and precision in forming the Line of Battle and all the other evolutions, in excercising the small arms and great Guns at Marks, and distinguishing the most expert ; sometimes would form into two divisions and make a mock Fight ; or if moored or at single anchor and a signal thrown out to chase either collectively or a single Ship ; it was surprising how quickly the anchors were weighed and every sail spread from a constant emulation both of the Officers and Crew, so that I apprehend there was not a more expert Squadron in the Navy. The Commodore had intelligence of a Squadron of French Ships under the command of Monsr. Bourdonois of much superior force coming from Mauritius to attack us, he therefore, as he had no prospect of a reinforcement, endeavoured by discipline and practise to make the most of the force he had. It should have been mentioned that when the *Deptford* touched at Madeira on her voyage from England one of the sailors was discovered to be a female who had undertaken that long voyage for the affection she had for one of the Crew, and upon his consenting the Commodore ordered them to be immediatly married ; she washed, dressed and mended the Officers Linens, assisted the Surgeon in the encounter with the French Ships in the Straits of Sunda, received her share of Prize money as a Seaman, with many peices of Silk &ca. from the Crew of the plunder, which like true Tars they parted with in the most trivial manner ; she returned to England with the *Deptford* ; she was hard featured but her behaviour was irreproachable.

29th Having advice of a French Ship being on the Coast to the southward the Squadron then at anchor in Fort St. David Road was instantly put under sail, and with a press arrived next day in Tranquebar road (a settlement belonging to Denmark) where the French Ship was lying under the protection of the Fort. The *Medway* Prize and *Lively* were sent to watch her that she might not slip to the northward when dark, but no sooner did the *Lively* come within reach than the French ship fired a volley of small arms into her, which was returned by a broadside from the *Lively*, and altho the French Ship had first broke the Neutrality the Fort fired on our Ships for two hours without doing much damage. The French got the most valuable part of the cargo on shore, run the ship aground and left her ; we took out the Guns and rendered it impracticable to float her again. Several Letters passed betwixt the Governour and Commodore about the infraction of the neutrality which was left to the determination of the respective Sovereigns.

12th April Discovered a French Ship in Karical road (a French Settlement

to the South of Tranquebar). On seeing our Ships they raised a great smoke in her to make us imagine they had set her on fire, but we boarded her and did it effectually by burning her to the water's edge.

29th After a few days illness, to the inexpressible grief of the Squadron and the Companys Servants, Commodore Barnet died aged betwixt 50 & 60 years, of an elegant majestic Person, informed by a capacious cultivated and dignified mind, calm and undaunted ; and altho deprived of a liberal education by being in early youth sent to sea, yet by a uncommon genius and application he had acquired the Latin, French and Spanish Languages which he could read, write and speak fluently, with a taste for their best Authors ; and when in subordinate stations of Lieutenant & Captain, human but strict in duty ; bold and determined in Battle and other trying occasions having a nice sense of his own and countrys honour ; and when corresponding on a national, or indeed any other subject, no person could do it in more correct nervous Language ; his death was peculiarly felt at this time, as a French Squadron of superior force was daily expected, and Capt. Peyton of the *Medway*, on whom his command devolved, had neither the ability, nor the confidence of the Squadron ; even the native Indians composed and sung elegiac songs to his memory, particularly the Boatmen who always sing while rowing, the strokesman bearing the burthen to the different songs, lamenting the death of their favourite Commodore. A few weeks before his death he was Præses of a Court martial held on board our Ship for the trial of one of the *Medways* Crew, who in a passion on receiving some Prize money where he imagined the Ships Company had been defrauded, uttered such mutinous expressions as could not be passed over ; they were clearly proved ; but the Commodore pitying his youth and inexperience repeatedly asked him if he was not then intoxicated but not conceiving the Commodores intention, he peremptorily denied his having tasted liquor that day. Mr. Barnet so sensibly moved that the Tears were seen coursing down his cheeks while pronouncing the sentence ; the prisoner was accordingly condemned to be hanged at the *Medways* Mainyard arms eight days after, during which time he was confined in irons on our Poop and advertized not to entertain hopes of Pardon but make the best preparation in his power for a future State. The Squadron contrasting the humane Character of the Commodore, the disagreeable necessity he was under of making an example to prevent the dreadful effects of mutiny ; with the hitherto harmless character of the Prisoner (the son of a respectable family in Fife had received a good education ; but being near a seaport became fond of a sea life ; left his Parents and entered as a common seaman immediately before the *Medway* proceeded to India) were kept in anxious suspense until the morning appointed for putting the sentence in execution, when the Prisoner was put in the pinnace with a party of Marines and rowed along side each ship where his sentence was read to the attending Crew ; he never spoke, was absorbed in thought, and seemed much impressed with his situation, until he arrived on the *Medways* Quarter deck when after singing a Psalm, during which time a yellow Flag was seen carrying up to our Main-topmasthead, (which when displayed and a Gun fired is the signal to execute the Criminal) the rope was put about his neck from the Mainyard arm ; and

while an awful silence prevailed and he was praying most pathetically for pardon of his misdeeds and the disgrace he had brought on his Parents and Relations, a boat was seen coming from one ship rowing towards the *Medway*; Hope beamed in every countenance, but when the yellow Flag was observed to be bringing down, and our Lieutenant delivering a Letter to Capt. Peyton and the rope ordered to be taken from the Prisoners neck, a universal joy appeared. The Captain then read the Commodores Letter signifying That from the Authority he had, and the information of the Prisoners former good behaviour, and that those culpable expressions proceeded unpremediatly from intoxication, altho he the prisoner was ashamed to own it; and as he promised in future to perform his duty with loyalty to his Sovereign and submission to the Orders of his Superiors; in the hope he would deserve it by his future good conduct he therefore gave him a free Pardon. Captain Peyton after giving him and the Crew a suitable exhortation delivered the pardon and dismissed him; he was received by his shipmates with the most sincere heartfelt congratulations each vying who should entertain him best, 'til from the sudden transition, his mind being yet in a confused state, and liquor constantly pressed upon him, in a very short time he became really intoxicated. This example had a very happy effect in preventing future disturbances, and increasing the regard & respect for the Commodore. It was his practice every Sunday forenoon to cause the Ships Company be mustered and pass one by one before him reprehending those that were not clean & neat in their persons and cloaths; after which Prayers were read and a Psalm sung with much decency, of which he set the example by joining much Fervency with devotion; so that not a whisper or the least impropriety prevailed during the whole time; and to prevent swearing he caused those that were detected to be gaged across the mouth with a short rod of Iron and walk the Gangway until he the culprit caught another swearing who was put in his place, or until their watch was expired. I mention these facts to show the happy effects such a conduct had in keeping alive a sense of religion and promoting order with a sense of duty & subordination from regard and respect and a mixture of awe and love for a Commander who they observed strict in his duty to his God, his Country, Officers and crew, attending to their minutest interest with mildness unless where severity was absolutely necessary to punish crimes of a deep die and pernicious tendency, and even then with reluctance & pity. I have known many worthy Commanders but none so perfect.

May 23rd the *Winchester* from Bombay joined the Squadron.

June 9th the *Medway* very leaky and encreasing so much that she could scarcely be kept above water with both Chain pumps going; sailed for Tranquemalla (5) to endeavour to stop it; but the wind blowing strong from the Island of Ceylon, after plying to Windward for eight days to no purpose, we bore away for Negapatam a Dutch settlement, the most southerly of those on the coast of Coromandel, where we anchored.

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(5) Trincomallee.

25th at 6 A.M. nine Ships were described from the Maintopmast head approaching from the south ; Weighed and gave chase ; at 11 perceiving French Colours hoisted ; the signal was made to form the Line of battle one Ship ahead of another ; in that form bore down on the French lying by to receive us. At half past 3 P.M. the Captain of the *Medway* made the signal to engage, which was immediately commenced by the *Preston*, who led the Van, and instantly followed by the other Ships in the followng order at a musquet shot's distance viz.

Frigate	Ships.	British Captains	Men	Guns		French Ships.	
				No.	Size		
Guns Lively 20	Preston	Earl of Northesk	300	50	10 & 9	36	The <i>Medway</i> scarcely kept afloat. <i>Medway's</i> prize leaky and all our ships short of their Complement of Men. The french Ships crouded & exceeded by 1500 Men as we were afterwards informed.
	Winchester	Lord Thos. Bertie	350	50	24.12	36	
	Medway	Edward Peyton	400	60	24.12	30	
	Medways Prize	Griffin	180	32	9.6	30	
	Harwich	Philip Carteret	350	50	24.12	64	
						30	
						36	
						28	
						30	
			242			320	

The *Preston* which was opposite to the 2d Ship of the French Van, soon drove the 1st to shelter behind their Line, and sometime after the 2d : In the meantime we were obliged to cover the *Medways* prize from her opposite the 64 gun ship, while we were engaged with the 64 gun ship and the four astern of her until a signal was made to shoot ahead, Tack and engage on the other Tack ; and having run past the sternmost ship firing as we passed along, retacked and occupied nearly our former stations ; as the day closed the French fire evidently slackened, our opponent the 64 gun ship not returning above two Guns to as many broadsides from our Ship, and could discern a large chasm in her side torn by our shot, and altho we endeavoured to continue the engagement by Lanthorns placed fore and aft, the concussion was so great from the firing that the light was constantly blown out, so that at 7 P.M., being then dark, the firing ceased on both sides. Night very dark ;

plying to windward to keep the weather gage ; fishing the masts much wounded ; mending the Rigging and making every preparation for renewing the engagement in the morning. During the night fell in with a Swedish East Indiaman who informed us the Pretenders Son Prince Charles had landed on the west of Scotland, been joined by some of the Highland Chieftains with their Clans, marched South and gained a battle over the Kings Forces at Preston. At daylight, the French Ships at a great distance to Leeward edging from us under their Topsails just appearing above the water ; one of them without a maintopmast ; Bore away and gave chase, our ship leading, but having little wind and night approaching before we reached within gun shot of their sternmost ship, and no probability of bringing them to action before dark, we plied to windward all night, and next morning it was imagined six ships were seen from the maintopmast head, but disputed, as if seen they quickly disappeared ; however the signal was made. Our Fore-top-gallantmast was shot away, the Foremast almost cut in two, the Mainyard and Rigging much shattered, above 50 shot in the hull, 4 betwixt wind and water ; the Longboat and Barge with all the live stock as Hogs &c. towing astern shot to peices and cutt away ; 28 Men killed & wounded, very few recovered. Mr. Fairfax a genteel young man, nephew to Lord Fairfax, universally respected for suavity of disposition & manners, an excellent Draughtsman, my Messmate for many months past, Midshipman and Aid de Champ to the Captain, as he was carrying his Orders, was the first killed, in his 18th year, universally lamented, especially by me who lost a most agreeable Companion with whom I had lived in the greatest harmony for a long time past ; with a aching heart I saw him consigned to the deep, and soon after Mr. Hilliard Masters Mate and Mr. Logie Midshipman ; both Intimates ; the latter stooping to take up a shot, a ball deprived him of his right arm at the wrist & left leg at the ankle.

The *Winchesters* Longboat with a man in her, towing astern ; the rope being shot away, driften close past the stern of one of the French Ships ; the man earnestly entreated they would take him on board, but they waved their caps and wished him a good voyage (would an Englishman have done so) and left him to perish in the wide ocean, as the wind blew from the land at 30 miles distance, with neither sail nor oar in the boat, when at 4 P.M. a small spec was observed at a great distance to Leeward ; we made up to it and found it to be the *Winchester's* Longboat with the man in her almost perishing for hunger (having tasted nothing since the morning of the Engagement two days before) and the dread of dying by Inches. In that morning our Ships came in sight ; what was his extacy ? but how soon was it chequed when he considered the distance and there was nothing in the boat to make him observed ; luckily he had a white handkerchief which he fastened to the Boats Tiller and long had waved with deep anxiety and almost despairing, when with joy inexpressible he saw he was observed and one of the Squadron edging to him.

As the sailors on sight of an Enemy think of nothing but Victory and Plunder, they were greatly mortified when they found the pursuit given over. The causes assigned were ; the *Medway's* making almost as much water as



both Pumps could clear ; our Foremast disabled, and the *Preston* and *Medways* prize very badly mann'd. It was judged that weak and disabled as we were, should the French, who were superior in the number of Ships and greatly so in Men, obtain the advantage it would endanger the loss of all our Settlements and Trade in India, besides the Ships expected from Britain with their Convoy ; it was therefore deemed expedient to proceed to Tranquemalla to endeavour to stop or lessen the *Medway's* leak, secure our Foremast ; put the Squadron in the best state of Offence, and be in the way to join the Ships expected from Europe, the Fryershood (a hill to the south of that Harbour) being the first land in India they aim, at this season, to discover, I would here observe that altho of a timid disposition, and thoughtful from the time we saw the French until the battle began, determined to do my duty ; courage took place of fear, with my utmost exertion in the station I occupied, nor do I recollect having the smallest idea of danger during the action, being so fully employed I had no time for fear.

30th June turning to windward into Tranquemalla Bay ; at 4 P.M. no prospect of getting in before dark ; a signal was made to bear away out of the Bay ; at dusk in a squall of wind and rain with thunder & Lightning, being unacquainted, one Ship struck on a sand bank on the south side of the Bay several times, but the wind veering to the SE backed us off and we anchored soon after in 10 fathoms without any apparent damage.

July 2d. Anchored in French pass bay, with the *Preston* and *Winchester* ; the *Medway* and *Medways* prize proceeding to a inner Bay to try to stop or reduce their Leaks, while the *Lively* cruised off the mouth of the Bay to look out for our expected Ships. Wooded, Watered, and repaired our Hull, Masts and Riggings.

Tranquemalla Bay is about 4 Leagues broad at the entrance and 6 deep and no soundings except at the south point where we grounded, and the inner part of the Bay. Frenchpass Bay lyes about four Leagues from the entrance of the great Bay through a channel on the north side, surrounded by the Land, with many navigable inlets betwixt desert Islands covered with Trees of great magnitude, where the Navy of Britain and numbers of Ships more may ride safe from all winds, careen, wood and water at no expence save the labour ; but no stores or provisions of any kind are to be procured except a few vegetables, some Fish by the Seine, if successful the Crew have a share and sometimes a wild Hog and Fowls may be purchased. The wind blew constantly from the land or SW during our stay with a mild odoriferous scent. The Fort is at the north entrance of the great Bay ; a small Battery at the passage to French pass Bay and some Guns on a Hill on the east side, but of no strength to withstand an Enemy of any force.

14th July The *Preston*, *Winchester* and *Harwich* sailed on a cruise off the Fryers Hood to look out for our Ships expected from England ; fine weather, a serene sky, with gentle breezes from the sea from 10 to 11 A.M, and from 11 P.M. to 9 next morning from the Island, balmy and aromatic ; with a most romantic scenery of silvan Vales and tow'ring mountains from Batecalo to Adams peak .

27th The *Medway* and *Medways* prize joined us ; was informed by a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. David Capt. Peyton. That the French Ships were arrived at Pondicherry and had supplied the Garrison with a considerable sum of money &ca. That we had damaged them very much ; one of their Captains killed ; Monsr. Bourdonois wounded in two places ; and beside those killed in the action (a great number) above 400 sick and wounded were sent to the Hospital, where few recovered, and that if we could have brought them to action next day, we would certainly have taken or destroyed most of them ; it was averred Bourdonois said he was certain *Barnet* was dead on observing how differently the squadron was manœuvred and fought from what he imagined it would have been had he commanded(6). We had about 60 killed and wounded in our Squadron. The French sent a Ship of 40 Guns with money &ca. to Chardenagore their Settlement in Bengal on the Ganges above Calcutta.

1st August The *Winchester* chased and captured a English Ship taken by the French at Mosambique, which they intended for a Privateer and had 40 white and 60 black seamen on board for Bourdonnois Squadron. The Prisoners were removed and the Ship sent to Madrass.

3d. In a Council of war it was determined to proceed to the coast of Coromandel and make every necessary preparation for an Engagement.

6th At one P.M. saw several Ships at anchor in Negapatam road, Eight with Dutch Colours. They hoisted. They weighed and hauled their wind, while we lay too in a Line of Battle to windward ; at 3 made sail and plyed all night.

7th The 8 Ships at daylight stood towards us with all the sail they could make and having a fresh Land breeze approached us fast, we had less wind and were standing to the South to keep the weather gage when the Sea breeze should come on, which happened at noon, and made us six miles to windward. At one Capt. Peyton made the signal to bear down and engage on the Larboard Tack but when the *Preston*, which led, got within gunshot, another signal was made by Captain Peyton to make the same sail he did, and kept close to the wind with his whole Sails spread, hauling down the signal for the Line of Battle. The French Commodore observing we declined an engagement crouded sail in chace but which he was soon obliged to give over as he left his other Ships fast ; they were exerting their utmost but we ran them almost out of sight.

8th After a Council of war and perceiving the French in sight and crouding after us, again made sail to the South and at 4 P.M. lost sight of them altogether ; they had been considerably reinforced, having a full tier of Guns below where many of them had only half tiers before, and appeared to be crouded with men ; having as we afterwards learned a Superiority to us of 112 guns and 1500 Men (7). While our Squadron kept entire, it

(6) See notes on pp. 34 and 71.

(7) "But inferior in discipline, equipment and in all the qualities which distinguish ships of war over merchant vessels. It consisted in fact of such ships as *La Bourdonnies*, the

held them in cheque ; but had it been demolished, as before, our whole settlements and Trade must have fallen. We cruized to the southward of the Fryers hood anxiously looking for the Ships from England.

18th Upon the information of the Captain of a Dutch Ship, That when lying in Pointdegalle road, on the 29th July N.S. Nine Ships with English Colours, passed, three of which seemed to be Ships of war and were saluted by the Fort which they returned, but it blowing strong no boat was sent on board. We made no doubt they were the expected Ships and immediately made sail for Madrass, but keeping at a distance from the Land to avoid the French, and a strong current setting to the north we were driven past it to Pulicate a Dutch Settlement a few miles distant where we were informed no Ships had arrived, either there or any other part of the coast, altho they were advertized of the same Ships passing Pointdegall ; they had also a simular account of the Damage the French had sustained in their engagement with us ; and that they made a fruitless attempt on the *Princess Mary* East India Ship sheltered in Madrassroad near the shore by the guns of the Fort, which, with those of the Ship, obliged them to retreat ; and were cruizing off Conemere to the South.

23rd. After another Council of war, being in want of Water Provisions &ca. and the Monsoon Season approaching, we sailed to the North and on the 29th arrived in Balasore road and got Pilots to navigate us up the river Hughly, a branch of the Ganges (8) and were informed that the Ship that was sent to Chardenagore (after capturing a rich country Ship commanded by Capt. Rennie) in sailing up the River, either by the obstinacy of the Captain or drunkeness of the Pilot, had touched a sand bank, and was almost instantly overset by the rapidity of the Tide and 275 of the Crew drowned.

Culpee, Bengal Sept.  
1746.

31st Sailed over the Braces and arrived at Culpee  
the 8th September.

11th October were informed by the Captain of a Dutch Ship from Madras "That the French had attacked that place and after cannonading and bombarding it for three days, the Governor had been obliged to surrender ; his Soldiers mostly Portuguese mutinying, refusing to fight, and even threatening his Life. This disagreeable intelligence threw us into the utmost consternation ; our Ships were unrigged ; a great number of the Crews sent sick to Calcutta ; the *Medway* preparing to heave down, her Guns and stores on board the *Medways* prize also very leaky ; the *Harwich*, *Winchester* and *Preston* half manned, and capable of a very feeble resistance, were the only force we had to trust to, if the French should proceed to attack us, which we hourly expected, and a Vessel was dispatched to Balasore road

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Governor of Mauritius had been able to get together and equip out, the resources of the colony, manned to a great extent by negroes and commanded by himself, a retired captain. But, this Peyton was ignorant and . . . he avoided coming to close action". D. N. B.

(8) "Peyton made the best of his way to the Hoogly where he remained though he knew that Madras was deposed to attack". D. N. B.

to watch their arrival and bring us immediate intelligence ; we were also anxiously looking from the Mastheads, from whence we had often false alarms ; however we were determined to resist to the last Man before we would surrender, lingering in a prison in that hot Climate we considered as worse than Death ; anxiety and suspense was visible in every countenance. It was a gloomy time ! 100 of the Companys Soldiers from Calcutta were sent to strengthen us ; a feeble reinforcement ! We were soon after informed that the Portuguese mercenaries or Peons only had mutinied ; but the English, an inconsiderable Number, would have attacked the French without the Gates, had they been permitted ; and that the Son of the Nabob of Arcot favored the French ; That Bourdonnois after taking possession had agreed to ransom the Town for £500,000 and all property ; the Kings Stores and Companys effects excepted ; But Duplex the Governour of Pondecherry refused to ratify the Treaty, came an open rupture with Bourdonnois, and insisted on keeping possession of Madrass until the 1st January next which the English consented to. We were afterwards informed that on the 3d. October a Hurricane (9) had dismasted, sunk or drove the whole French Ships from the Coast as transmitted by an English gentleman at Pulicate viz.

				Guns Men		Weight of mettall	
						above below.	
These three Ships arrived	Centaur	...	...	70	600	Sailed	... 18 18
at Pondecherry after	Mars	...	...	54	450	Ditto	... 12 18
Madrass was taken	Brilliant	...	...	40	350	Ditto	... 9 12
Lost all her Masts	Achilles	...	...	70	600	Ditto with Juremasts	18 18
Ditto & very leaky	Bourbon	...	...	54	450	At Pondecherry	... 12 18
These two sunk and only	Phoenix	...	...	54	450	...	... 12 18
one man saved	Duke of Orleans	...	...	40	350	...	... 9 12
The Ships we engaged							
	Lys	...	...	40	350	Sailed	... 9 12
	St. Lewis	...	...	40	350	Ditto	... 9 12
Lost all her Masts	Neptune	...	...	40	350	At Pondecherry	... 9 12
Overset with her Crew	Insulaire	...	...	30	300	Lost in the Ganges	... 12 10
English Prize	Princess Mary	...	...	30	60	At Madrass	... 6
Garrison of Pondecherry when all the Ship were manned as above				700		Beside the Garrisons of Mauritius, Mahea & Chardenagore said to be compleat.	
Europeans				5360			
Gentoo Peons				600		Indians.	
Caffreys				500		} Africans.	
Sea Poys				600			
Men altogether				7060			

(9) "But even the knowledge of this disaster could not tempt Peyton south and he was still in the Hooghly in December". D. N.B.

This was most welcome News to us, who expected every Tide to see the French advancing to our destruction, which was certainly their intention, and to extirpate the British from India and which, had not the storm intervened, they had every probability of accomplishing ; we surely had much cause to say with Queen Elisabeth "Deus afflavit et dissipantur". We afterwards learned that when Bourdonnois left the coast with such Ships as he could carry with him, Duplex annulled the Treaty he had made with Governor Morse ; declaring that Madrass belonged to the French East India Company ; and ordered all the British to depart in 24 hours on pain of being sent prisoners to Pondicherry ; accordingly most of the Inhabitants, Soldiers and Seamen retired to Pulicate, hoping to find a safe asylum with our good allies the Dutch ; but were disappointed, refused the protection of the Fort and obliged to take up their Quarters amongst the Blacks huts ; Governor Morse and a few others rather chusing to go as Prisoners to Pondicherry ; all that they were allowed to carry with them was some necessary Apparel and Furniture.

When the Naizam of the Carnatic learned that Madrass was taken ; considering it as a dependency on his Province, and that confusion would ensue if such things were permitted, threatned the Nabob of Arcot with extirpation if he did not immediately drive the French from Madrass and reinstate the British. The Nabob, being an old man, sent his Son with all the force he could muster, about 1000 Horse and 4000 foot who encamped within a league of Madrass and deprived the Town of Water for three days ; but the French with 200 men drove them from thence, took their Camp and a considerable booty, and again drove them from St. Thome about 13 Miles S<sup>o</sup> of Madrass where they had retired and kept possession of it. That sometime after the Nabobs eldest Son (he who it was said favored the French) was defeated and killed. It is also said the Naizam has 60,000 Horse beside Foot waiting the arrival of our Squadron to expirate the French from India ; and that they lost in the Storm beside what was mentioned Ship *Yanam*, Snow-prize *Brilliant*, with 15 Mortars and 1000 Bomb shells ; and in a Storm at Madagascar two Ships of 70 Guns each ; and had garisoned Madrass with 500 Men from the Crews of the Ships that sailed.

The *Medways* Mainmast having broke when heaving down the 28 October to stop her Leak, she sailed with the *Medways* prize to Calcutta to get a new mast, and attempt again to heave down to come at the Leak now much increased. We had the pleasure to see most of the Trade from Bombay and Persia arrive safe, together with the *Marlborough*, *Mountfort* and *Salisbury* from England, loaded with Stores and provisions for the Squadron, which we were in great want of (our spare Stores and Provisions having been lost with Madrass where they were lodged). They also brought us the agreeable News that Commodore Griffin, with a 60 and 40 Gun Ship, was coming to Join us and might be soon expected ; but withal this disagreeable account That the Rebels after penetrating into England as far as Derby and returning to Scotland had again defeated the Kings Forces at Falkirk ; were also informed the French had captured the *Anglesea* of

40 Guns and converted her to a Privateer cruising with two other large Ships somewhere in India. Bourdonnois it was imagined had returned to Mauritius with six Ships in a very bad condition, leaving the *Neptune* and *Bourbon* in Pondecherry road dismasted and very leaky.

8 December Commodore Griffin arrived in Balasore road with the *Princess Mary* of 60 and *Pearl* of 40 Guns full manned and healthy ; we soon join'd them together with the *Preston* and *Winchester*, in Ingerlee Road, where the *Medways* prize anchored on the 26th January 1747, and the *Medway* on the 7th February, having got a new Mainmast and stoped the Leak. Our force now consists as under, viz.

					Guns Men. below above			
Princes Mary	...	Thomas Griffin	Commodore	Capt.	60	415	24	9
		Amherst	...	...				
Medway	...	Peyton	...	...	60	400	24	9
Preston	...	Earl of Northesk	...	...	50	500	10	9
Harwich	...	Carteret	...	...	50	350	24	12
Winchester	...	Lord Thomas Bertie	...	...	50	350	24	12
Pearls	...	Boys	...	...	40	250	18	9
Medways Prize	...	Griffin	...	...	32	200	9	9
Lively	...	Stevens	...	...	20	160	0	9
Fogo Fireship								
					370	2425		

Many of the Companys Soldiers at Calcutta entered for our Squadron, and 60 of the Madras Garrison from Visagapotam, and 100 more waiting for us at Pulicate gives us hope of having our several complements of Men compleated.

That part of Hugly river commonly termed Rogues River, where we were moored upwards of three months, is 70 Miles below Calcutta, two from Culpee and about 4 Miles broad ; here the Ships from England unload their Cargo's into Sloops and other small Craft for Calcutta ; reload part, and compleat their Cargo's for Europe at Ingelee 15 miles nearer the mouth of the River, where it is of great breadth, sufficient depth and easy access to the Sea. Culpee is a small Indian Town under the Government of a Jemandaar, frequented by the Crews of Ships anchor in the road ; and often a scene of riot and debauchery, as a Sailor after a long voyage has no limits to his Frolic's when he gets on shore. Four of our young Midshipmen about 16 and 17 years of age, of good Families, particularly recommended to the Captain, and to whom he had been very attentive, having been permitted to go on shore had abused some of the Natives ; one died two days after ; three others fevered and remained long in a dangerous situation but at last recovered : We had every reason to suspect they had been poisoned, the common way we were told the Females practise to resent the injuries they receive, and at which they are very dexterous ; the Natives in general seem inoffensive unless much provoked. The River there abounds with Alligators of a monstrous size, we saw them often on the surface seemingly from 20 to 30 feet long ; and often fired Swivel shot at

them but with what effect we could not say, as they immediately disappeared. One of them seized a native in the night sleeping in his Dingy (a small boat) in Culpee Creek, and carried him off. The Country is so much infested with Tygers that the windows and doors of the houses or rather Mud huts of Culpee are every night secured, altho to the exclusion of the cooling breeze most grateful in that warm Climate. The Captains Steward of the *Winchester* sauntering in the twilight was seized by a Tyger within one hundred yards of the Town and carried amongst the Pady (Rice) then in the ear ; where his Body was found next morning and the road perceived thro' the Pady the Tyger had taken as he came or went; having only sucked the blood, the Natives knew he would return to mangle the Body, therefore they placed two stakes firmly in the ground with a strong Bamboo Bow betwixt them and two arrows drawn to the utmost stretch fixed to the Bow with wooden pins, to which strings were tyed and carried about twenty yards beyond the Body in the Tract he had made, and fastned to a dead Goat ; according to expectation he returned, and meeting the dead Goat proceeded to tear him, unfixed the pins, the arrows flew off, one fixed in his shoulder, the other in his belly ; he gave a hideous roar ; the Natives assured he was wounded soon dispatched him ; a large royal Tyger ! the skin was purchased by Mr. Holt our 2d. Lieutenant.

The poorer Natives live in mud houses thatched with straw ; the whole Furniture consisting of a mat on which they sleep wrap'd in their Turban unfolded (which with the rag that comes thro' the Thighs fastened to a string round their middle is all their cloaths) and some earthenpots to boil their rice & currie and a Goblet to hold Water (their only beverage) is the whole Furniture ; some may have a brass Bowl from which they pour the Water into their mouth, never put it to the Lip ; and the Rice put on a mud frame, fitted in a few minutes to the earthen pot that is to boil it, with a small hole on one side to introduce a few dry twigs which they soon kindle, and with the most frugal attention make the whole heat act on the bottom of the pot, and when sufficiently boiled pour off the water and put the rice on a large broad leaf heaped, and having uttered a short Prayer and set apart a small portion as an offering, and washed their mouth and hands ; with the Thumb and two fore Fingers of their right hand (their left being appropriate to unclean purposes) they mix the rice with a very small quantity of prepared Currie and throw as much as will ly on these fingers into their mouth without touching their Lips, and a large quantity they devour, having only two meals a day. They are divided into different Casts or Tribes, each having peculiar customs, and no domestic intercourse with each other from the Bramin Cast, the highest to the Paria Caste the lowest, which consist of such as have been expelled from the other Casts for misbehaviour ; they are held in the highest contempt, do all the drudgery and being freed from all restraint indulge in every intemperance : So tenacious are the Casts of their Observances that I have known them detained on board by gales of wind for two or three days without tasting meat or drink, as it was contrary to their rules to eat any food but such as was dressed by their own Cast or drink in their own Vessells ; if by accident or design any of their Vessels had been poluted by the touch of

those of a different persuasion, it was either broke, or if metal remelted and fashioned anew before again used. Except the Bramins, who seemed lofty and distant, and the Paria's abject & vile, the intermediate Casts, if not desturbed in their religious worship and peculiar customs, appeared to be mild and docile ; much oppressed by their Raja's, Nabobs &ca. who are Mahametans and often fleece and torment them if suspected to have wealth, which makes them carefully conceal any sums they may have saved below ground and it is supposed to be to an amazing amount in the kingdom of Bengal. The country is perfectly level and by the rains which fall in May June and July entirely covered with water in which the rice grows, the Towns & Farm houses raised on artificial mounds appearing like so many Islands ; during which time I apprehend the wild animals shelter themselves amongst the brushwood on the bank of the River which is raised higher considerably than the adjacent country, and strengthened by continued supplys of mud. Amongst other Superstitions some Sects hold the waters of the Ganges sacred and when a person dies or is thought past recovery such person is carried to the Rivers side within high water mark and there left to be overflowed by the Tide, and their bodies are commonly seen floating on the surface, with Kites & Crows preying on them, or swallowed by Alligators ; sometimes the bodies are cast on shore and emit a most intollerable stench until night when the Jackals, Paria Dogs (a wild species) &ca. have them picked clean to the Bone ; they also come into the Towns and Villages and cleanse them of every thing nausious or offensive before morning, as the Kites, Crows &ca. do through the day, who are therefore never molested & become very impudent, snatching at whatever Victuals is exposed and they can carry off. It was currently reported that the Cook of a India ship carrying some beef Stakes hot from the Gridiron, a Bramin Kite or Buzzard darted down and seized one of the Stakes n his Talons, but by his Fluttering and in vain endeavouring to disengage it, it was evident he suffered smartly for his Theft. I have frequently seen the Crows alight and remain for some time on the womens heads & shoulders but never on the mens. The black Doctors pretend by feeling the pulse to find if you have any disease however latent or secret and to give you a certain cure, but it is only pretence and deceit. Their mutton is small but excellent, as are their Poultry, only their Ducks, which are very cheap, 12 for a Rupee, must be fed with clean hard meat for 10 or 14 days before they are wholesome food, as they are flabby from the Garbage they pick in the Ditches, Tanks &ca. Fish is scarce and bad. I had almost forgot a vile unnatural custom some of the Casts have of turning any of their family that is attacked by a disease that is deemed incurable out of doors, into a small temporary solitary hut, there to expire, as the house where a person dies is reckoned poluted. On landing with some Officers at Culpee creek, at the top of the bank, what to us appeared to be a sows Croove or Sty on looking into it was a young girl of about 8 or 9 years of age, so exposed, quite emaciated with a disentery who looked and moaned so pityously by signs for some meat and drink ; that on the Surgeon who was with us giving his approbation we gave her some Bananas which she devoured most greedily, and on her Parents refusing to admit her into their



house, and the Surgeon saying that if carried on board under his care she would at least have a chance for Life, she was carried on board accordingly but expired that night. Her earnest, piteous, complaining looks and cries are stil strong in my recollection !

12th February 1747 Sailed from Ingerlee road past the shoals and sands of the River with the Squadron to Fort St. David road where we arrived on the 2d. March without any remarkable occurrence, and found the *Britannia* East India ship from England there who acquainted us That the French from Pondecherry were then attacking the Fort. 700 Men were immediatly landed from the ships which caused them to make a precipitate retreat to Pondecherry, and was a timeous releif to Fort St. Davids, then almost destitute of Provisions and warlike stores with a garrison not exceeding 200 Europeans. We learned that the three French Ships which joined Bourdonnois after taking Madrass with one of his former Squadron, had sailed to Achinhead and arrived there two days after the *Princess Mary* and *Pearl* ; and returned to the Coast in December and left in about the middle of February supposed for the Malabar Coast ; Also that the French made an attack on Fort St. David in December last, but that the Garrison then consisting of about 100 Men, with the assistance of the Moors encamped at a small distance with 30,000 Men had obliged them to retire with the loss of 20 or 30 killed, some of their Cannon two Mortars and part of their Tents and Baggage. That the Moors had waited two Months for our arrival, but the French averring we were gone to another Coast, deserting Fort St. Davids as not worthy of our attention and with a considerable present purchasing a peace the Nabob retired ; that the French had returned to the attack two days before our arrival, the Garrison, by the junction of some of the Madrass Soldiers and *Princess Mary's* Crew who had escaped, having got an accession of 100 Men, sallied out and cannonaded the French from some small field peices all the first day but were obliged to retire at night to the Fort from their numerous Foe, who took possession of the Garden house about a mile and a half to the NW of the Fort, preparing to bombard the Fort, when daylight discovered the approach of our Squadron and inspired the Garrison with such joy and courage that they again sallied forth ; but the enemy altho 12,000 strong had decamped. The *Princess Louisa* from England ignorant of the capture of Madrass sailed into the road and anchored at a distance from the Shore ; The French hoisted English colours at the Fort, and stil further to deceive them sent a boat as from Governor Moire to acquaint them of a French force at Pondecherry and that Boats with men would be sent to assist them in bringing the Ship under the protection of the Fort ; accordingly four Boats were sent full of Men with concealed arms who made a easy conquest of the unsuspecting English with £42,000 beside her Cargo. The *Preston* and *Lively* were sent to endeavour to take her and the *Bourbon* at anchor there dismasted, but so soon as our Ships were discovered, the *Bourbon* & *Princess Louisa* were hauled within Pistol shot of the Fort, which defeated the attempt ; One or two ships have been stationed to cruize off the road to prevent their escape, releif being brought by sea, or any more of our Ships being decoyed ; which would have happened to a Ship from Britain soon after, had she not been

undeceived by the *Pearl*. Two Ships were also stationed off Pondecherry, the *Harwich* one of them. We captured a ship sailing for Pondecherry of 500 Tons under Dutch Colours, loaded with Wheat, Flour and Rice having a French Captain and Supercargo who were sent to England, the Ship to Bengal, and the Cargo sold, and hope she will turn out a good Prize.

25 March We drove a Snow from the Mauritius for Pondecherry with dispatches on shore ; the Crew escaped with the Packet. We got her off and learned by Papers found on board her That Bourdonnois had arrived at Mauritius with his disabled Ships ; had been ordered home and a Successor appointed. Received Prize money for her.

12th April The *Lapwing* arrived from England in less than four months.

16th. Governour Hind of Fort St. David died and was succeeded by Charles Floyer the 2d. in Council.

29 May four Ships arrived at Fort St. David from Bombay with 400 Soldiers and warlike Stores for the Garrison, and advice that the French Ships which sailed last from the Coast were put into Goa. Sailed with the *Medway* on a cruize off the Fryars Hood the 5th June where we spoke the *Swift Snow* with Dispatches from England to Fort St. David. Delightful weather and scenery as before.

1 July anchored in Fort St. David road and learned two of the Companys Ships which came from Bombay, the *Ilchester* and *Warwick* with 200 men and 32 Guns each, were added to the Squadron.

5th July The *Medway* and *Ilchester* Sailed to Tranquemalla to Carreen and stop their Leaks.

12th Sailed to Porto Novo Road (10).

1st August spoke the *Bombay Castle* East India Ship from Bencoolen and on our arrival at Fort St. Davids the 15th found said Ship also added to the Squadron. The ditch at Fort St. David is making considerably broader with a Horn work at the north Gate, and a small Fort in form of a Octagon about

three quarters of a mile to the north ; the Trees are cutting, the houses pulling down, and the ground leveling for a considerable distance round. A Covert way is also forming round the Fort to the river which skirts the South, there not fordable. The Garrison having been reinforced, now consists of 500 British ; 500 Seapoys which came overland from Bombay ; 1000 Portuguese and Black Soldiers ; and from 2000 to 3000 Peons with match lock Musquets and Scimitars in pay, scarcely to be depended on but for Bush fighting, as they will not face a European in the open field. A Famine has prevailed on this Coast and Country round all this Season ; when we came first upon the Coast the Garrison as before were reduced to great distress from a scarcity of Rice, the principal food of the Country ; Commodore Griffen therefore ordered our cruizers to send to Fort St. David road all the Vessells loaded with Pady (Rice) wherever bound ; their Cargos were paid agreeable to the market price and sent to the Fort, by which means, and a large Supply from Bengal, the Garrison were plentifully provided and enabled to sell a consi-

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(10) South of Fort St. David.

derable quantity to the Natives where their wants were most urgent ; notwithstanding the Natives from the interior were in such distress, and crowded in such numbers round the bounds, a circumference of about four miles, that a considerable military force was obliged to guard it to prevent their breaking in ; and all the relief that could be afforded them did not prevent such numbers dying every day for mere want that holes were obliged to be digged to throw their bodies in that the air might not be infected ; it was a most distressing scene ; many were eager to sell their Children for any pittance, that they might not see them perish for want, which thousands did before effectual supplies arrived from Bengal for a scanty provision until their Harvest which has a promising appearance. Commodore Griffin has power, as I am informed, to act as he pleases without consulting with or having the approbation of the Governors or Councils, to which his predecessor Barnet was said to be subjected, which disconcerted his schemes, and foreseeing the consequence preyed upon his Spirits, and promoted the disorder of which he died. A French Squadron is expected daily but of what force uncertain ; all the Cruizers are ordered in and every preparation made to receive them.

1st September Proceeded with the whole Squadron to Negapatam, and after being supplied with a quantity of Arrack, returned, frequently exercising by the way, which had been discontinued since Mr. Barnet's death.

20th Sailed to Madrass with an intention to destroy the *Neptune* fitted with Jure masts, and the *Princess Amelia* taking in a Cargo, both at anchor as near the Fort as there was a sufficient depth of water to float them and preparing to sail.

22d. At daylight formed the Line of Battle ahead with a gentle Land wind to give the Ships, who were within Pistol shot of the shore, our broadsides either to drive them on shore or batter them to peices, but as the *Winchester*, which led, had got within Gunshot it became calm and we were obliged to anchor : After a consultation at 12 at night two Boats manned and armed, with an officer in each, under the direction of Hyde Parker our 2d. Lieutenant, was sent from each Ship to endeavour to burn them, the night being very dark ; and by 2 o'clock saw the *Neptune* in flames, but the Fort and *Princess Amelia* being alarmed she was not attempted, as the boats were glad to row out of the reach of their guns, being now easily distinguished by the flames of the *Neptune* which blazed to the top of the Jure masts, and her Cable being burnt and the wind from the Land she floated burning past our Ships next day at 2 o'clock and at 4 seemed to be totally extinguished : we did not lose a man, and so compleatly were they surprised that the Crew on the first alarm jumped naked into the sea and easily reached the shore, so that one prisoner only was taken. It was not judged prudent to make any further attempt on the *Princess Amelia* hauled closs to the Surf, as the loss of a mast from the shot of the Fort at this time when an enemy was expected might be of the worst consequence. Accounts came from Bombay that the French Ships were sailed from Goa and loaded Wheat at Mahie, their Factory on the Malaba. Coast, and from thence supposed for Pondecherry then much distressed for Provisions ; That the *Princess Mary* captured at Madrass was wrecked on Surat bar with a Cargo of wheat ; That the *Apollo* of 52 and

*Anglesea* of 44 Guns, French Privateers, were cruising off Bombay, and had taken a outward bound India-ship but not until a brave resistance, while they got their Treasure to the amount of £50,000 into their Longboat, ordered to Bombay where she safely arrived with said Treasure. Continued cruising off Madrass until the 5th October when the *Harwich* was sent to Sadrassapatani, a dutch factory 15 Leagues south from Madrass where we continued off and on without any remarkable occurrence until the 15th when the Squadron driven southward by a strong current joined us. We were dispatched after a Portuguese Snow the 16th which we had spoke the day before, said by the *Swift* Snow, who came from Pulicate to be loaded with French property ; at sunset saw her at anchor betwixt Pondecherry, where there is a battery of 100 Guns towards the Sea, and the Bourbon now converted to a floating Battery ; Sent Lieut. Hyde Parker with two Boats manned and armed, who boarded her about 2 o'clock in the morning, got her under sail and out of the reach of the guns of Pondecherry and the *Bourbon* before they took the alarm, but after a strict search finding no cause of detention dismissed her. The atmosphere, gloomy with dark heavy clouds heaped on clouds and frequent torrents of rain with thunder and lightning had a very threatening appearance ; being then off Fort St. Davids we stood to Sea, and by a hard Gale and strong south Current were forced, notwithstanding every effort to regain our station, as far as Tranquemalla ; and continuing to drive, then almost calm, to the South, and no prospect of getting to the Northward ; we took the advantage of a breeze at NE and anchored in French pass bay the 24th and were followed by the *Winchester* and *Bombay Castle* and some days after by the *Preston*, who had also been forced from the Squadron and narrowly escaped being driven on shore about 15 Leagues to the Northward, where she had anchored, been obliged to cut her Cable and sail for this Bay.

It may be proper here to note the different Seasons on the coast of Coromandel viz. from the beginning of January to April the NE Monsoon prevails with cool moderate gales, an azure sky with light fleecy Clouds gliding amongst it, and a wholesome atmosphere : Then the SW Monsoon commences sometimes with a violent Hurricane, and afterwards with regular Land and Sea breezes ; the Land breeze, after a calm of a hour or two sultry & hot, begins about 11 P.M. cool and refreshing and continues until 8 or 9 A.M. with a calm for a hour or two also exceedingly hot until cooled by a gentle breeze which encreases to a brisk gale until 5 or 6 P.M. and then gradually declines to a calm. In June and July these breezes are often interrupted for several days together, by a strong wind from the Land, hot and dry as from the mouth of a Oven, which parches the Skin and stops Perspiration, blowing great quantities of Sand, with which I have seen our Decks covered altho four Miles from the Shore, and miriads or rather Clouds of the mahogany coloured Butterflies through a thick, hazy, dry burning atmosphere obscuring the Sun and the fair face of Heaven. In August and September heavy clouds with frequent Showers of rain Thunder and Lightning. October, November & December the Monsoon Months the Atmosphere is loaded with dark sooty clouds bursting into torrents of Rain with tremendous Thunder & Lightning and sometimes violent hurricanes or light tepid airs from every point of the

Compass ; most Vessels leave the Coast during this Season, and such as have had the temerity to continue have often suffered ; Therefore when the Monsoon season commences every Fort on the Coast fires a Gun or hoists a small Flag ; a signal for all Vessels to leave the Coast ; and when it is deemed the Monsoon and hazzard is past by the periodical NE Gales taking place, the proper flag is again hoisted. The Current sets to the South in October and to the North in February.

28 October The Water casks being in a very bad condition, and the Pilots averring there was not a chance of getting to the Northward until January and February, the Captain thought that a proper opportunity to heave down and clean the Ships bottom which was very foul and full of large Barnacles, obstructing her sailing very much ; accordingly hauled betwixt two small uninhabited Islands in five fathoms water closs and with a Gangway to the shore of the westernmost by which the Guns, Stores, Provisions and every thing in the Ship was carried to the Island, the Ship hove down by the *Preston* brought alongside for that purpose, her bottom (the Kiel not full nailed as the rest of the bottom perforate like a honeycomb by the worm) breamed, cleaned and tarred and the Provisions, Stores & Guns reinstated. The *Winchester* and *Preston*, both leaky, could not undergo the same operation for want of Materials. As the Islands we were betwixt were in a state of Nature, they were covered with Trees, particularly the one to which we lay, of various kinds, Ebony, Redwood &ca., some of them of a great height and enormous size from three to twelve feet diameter and upwards, with wide spreading branches, and so full of underwood below that until cleared it obstructed every passage and was the abode of wild Animals, Reptiles and Insects of various kinds, some very noxious, particularly Snakes of an uncommon length & size, one was killed with a hare in its belly which had been swallowed whole. The water being screened from all winds by the Islands and a clear atmosphere with a surface of glass was pure & transparent to the pebbly bottom, discovering distinctly every Fish that passed of all Sizes, Shapes, Colours &ca. many of them peculiarly beautiful ; of which we caught numbers, but great caution ought to be used in feeding on them, as four or five of our Crew by eating the Liver of a Fish, were affected by such a nervous disorder that they lost the power of their Limbs, as they could neither walk nor clench their Fist, and remained in that condition and a state of idiotism for near six weeks before they perfectly recovered. Except the Fish we caught and a few wild Hogs, which are excellent, with some Fowls occasionally purchased from the Natives, we could procure no fresh provisions ; altho we saw very large fat Cows in the Bazar they would not sell them at any price, nor suffer them to be molested, having from religious motives a great veneration for them ; Our Crews therefore had only the Ships provisions and what fish they could catch and greens they could pick up. The Natives seem to be keen Cockers, as I have seen them standing in rings round two Cocks fighting with the greatest eagerness and anxiety in their countenances as if deeply concerned in the result ; and was told, after having lost every thing besides, they will stake their wives and Children and finally themselves for Slaves.

8th November The *Medways* Prize anchored in the bay, having lost Company with the Commodore and been drove to the South of the Fryars Hood, but meeting with a strong Gale at SW had regained the Coast as far North as Pulicat and ranging the coast to Fort St. Davids and not finding the Commodore came to Tranquemalla in search of him, and informed us they had brought a packet for him from England by the *George* Snow arrived at Anjango (11) and transmitted to Fort St. Davids ; That advice was received of a great force preparing in England for India on their being certified of the capture of Madrass ; and that Monsr. St. George was sailed from France with some Ships of force and a large fleet of India Ships, which gave us some anxiety least they should arrive before our expected reinforcement.

1st December Commodore Griffin in the *Princess Mary* and *Pearl* anchored in the Bay having left the *Medway* in Fort St. David road to watch the *Princess Amelia* which had got from Madrass into Pondecherry road : These three Ships had been drove far to the Southward but meeting the SW gale they had regained the coast where they had been cruizing for some weeks past. The Commodore expressed much resentment at our deserting him, as he called it, when the Enemy was expected on the Coast, by coming into the Bay ; but as the current was then forcing us to the Southward at the rate of three Miles pr. hour and what wind there was, being from the N to the NE without a probability of its changing for some months ; it was thought to keep as near our Station as possible by anchoring in the bay was the most prudent conduct ; and it was asserted by those acquainted with the periodical winds that a SW wind was very uncommon at that Season, indeed scarcely ever known.

6th Strong Gales with heavy showers of rain.

9th. The 3d Lieutenant of the *Medway* arrived in one of her boats to inform the Commodore that she was at anchor 15 Leagues to the Northward, having by hard Gales parted from two Cables in Fort St. David road and forced to put to Sea where they encountered the severest Storm and roughest Sea that any, the oldest Seamen had ever experienced ; their Foremast and Maintopmast went away without any Sails set and the Hull so shattered they expected to founder every moment, but after continuing 24 hours with amazing violence, gradually abated, and a day or two after saw Ceylon, and drawing near the Shore, anchored ; he also said That the *Fogo* Fire snow which was sent to Visagatapan during the Monsoon, on returning had mistaken in the night Pondecherry for Fort St. Davids, and past betwixt the Fort and the *Princess Amelia* ; that both kept incessantly firing on her which shattered her hull very much, and narrowly escaped being captured ; That when the *Medway* was forced to Sea, the *Fogo* was making Signals of distress and there was the greatest probability that she was drove on shore. The *Harwich* was immediately ordered to the *Medways* assistance, but the Pilots asserting the impossibility of our getting to the Northward, Boats were sent, and next day the *Medway* appeared with a Jure Foremast and anchored in the Bay about noon. The Sunday before when the Storm was at the height

every one despaired of safety and with the utmost fervency recommended themselves to Mercy, but next Sunday, set apart for a thanksgiving day, so soon as the Service was over and the danger past, than the impression was entirely effaced and the Crew proceeded to get drunk, swear and every act of impiety as formerly, such ungrateful unthinking creatures are the generality of Seamen that they seem only to have a notion of a Superior Power, while danger is impending. The *Princess Mary*, *Pearl*, *Medways Prize* &c. having sent Powder on shore, upwards of 130 Barrels, which was lodged in two contiguous houses in the midst of a large garden to be dried, sifted and new corned ; we were surprized one day at noon with a tremendous crack and almost instantly another, with a violent tremor of the Ship, which appeared like the shock of an earthquake, but turning to where the Powder was cleaning, which was at the distance of three Miles, a huge column of smoke announced the cause, but how it happened could never be discovered, as the five men employed & under whose care it was were blown limb from limb together with the two houses and the Trees of the garden, scattered to a great distance ; a burning rafter of one of the houses fell into a Long-boat loaded with Barrels of Powder covered with a Tarpauling going off to one of the Ships : the Officer who had charge of the Boat had the presence of mind to toss it immediately into the sea and by that means saved the lives of himself & Crew. After the arrival of the *Medway* we were ordered to proceed with all dispatch to Fort St. Davids ; accordingly made three unsuccessful attempts to turn out of the Bay, the wind blowing directly in, we succeeded the fourth time on the 20th December, leaving the Squadron there ; and were drove two degrees to the South, amidst a Ocean darkened with black heavy Clouds piled on Clouds with Thunder Lightning and Torrents of rain, neither Sun nor Moon nor Stars emerging for several days, but by

keeping to the eastward we got into better weather

[1748] and to Fort St. David the 2d. January 1748, where we learned that the *Fogo* was stove to peices, and the *Princess Amelia* drove from Pondecherry road the same night. The Commodore was induced to risque the Squadron on the Coast during the Monsoon, the French threatning to attack Fort St. David when we left it ; and also to prevent their Ships at Goa bringing the supplys of Men, Money and Provisions which were expected at Pondecherry at that season. Our Ships Crews became very sickly, especialy of the Scurvy from the damp and salt provisions &c. which were much decayed ; the *Medway* and *Pearl* having left 130 Men at the Hospital when drove from the Coast, the Crews of the Ships at Tranquemalla were in as bad a Situation when we left them and on the 3d we sent 70 Men to the Hospital.

On the 4th the French encamped at a small distance from the Bounds of Fort St. Davids intending as was supposed to burn Cuddalore about a Mile and a half to the South of the Fort, inhabited mostly by Indian Merchants that trade with the Company and within their jurisdiction ; but the *Princess Mary*, *Winchester*, *Pearl* and *Bombay Castle* appearing soon after, they made a precipitate retreat. The force at Pondecherry is said to be 1500 Europeans and a numerous body of black Soldiers or Peons ; The Fortifications are

extensive, regular and well stored with Cannon, having a battery of 120 towards the Sea where Ships may lye within Pistol Shot. The *Bourbon* used as a floating Battery was drove on Shore in the storm of December and dashed to peices.

In February the *Exeter* and *York* of 60 Guns each joined us from England, last from Balasore road where they left the *Eltham* of 40 Guns and five India Ships with Stores and Provisions for the Squadron ; They sailed in March 1747, touched at Madeira, sent the *Benjamin* India ship to the Cape of Good Hope for Intelligence, proceeded to Madagascar where they continued five Weeks to refresh the Crews and compleat their Water, and were there informed by the *Benjamin* that Madrass was taken and the Squadron beat off the Coast ; they sailed for and arrived at Batavia in September, but obtaining no further intelligence proceeded through the straits of Banca to Malacca without getting any satisfactory account until they arrived at Balasore road, where they received full information from Calcutta. The *Eltham* and three of the India Ships arrived soon after and the *Medways* prize from Tranquemalla where she had careened and stoped her Leaks, she sent two thirds of her Crew to the Hospital. As we kept Pondecherry in a state of Blackade of which the Natives were apprised by the *Harwich* either cruising or anchoring off it to prevent their receiving any supplies of Stores Provisions &c ; and observing some small Vessels commonly called Pady or Rice Vessels had stole in during the dark of night ; a Boat manned and armed from each Ship was sent next night which boarded and burnt six of them betwixt 3 and 4 O'clock A.M., but the Fort having taken the alarm and began firing at the Boats, altho they did them no hurt, one of the Pady Vessells only escaped. The *Apollo* and *Anglesea* French Privateers having been discovered cruizing off Anjengo, the East India Companys southermost settlement on the Malabar coast, the *Exeter* and *Winchester* were ordered there to capture or drive them from the Coast. Our Naval force is now

Ships.	Rate.	Commanders.	Men	Guns.	below	above	Where stationed.
Princess Mary	... 4	Thomas Griffin ... Commodore Thomas Griffin Captain.	400	60	24	9	Fort St. David.
Exeter	... 4	Lord Harry Paulet	400	60	24	12	Malabar Coast.
Medway	... 4	Edward Peyton	400	60	24	9	Tranquemalla unser viceable.
York	... 4	Nucella	400	60	24	9	Off Pondecherry.
Harwich	... 4	Philip Carteret	350	50	24	12	Fort St. David.
Winchester	... 4	Lord Thomas Bertie	350	50	24	12	Malabar Coast.
Preston	... 4	John Amherst	300	50	18	9	Tranquemalla.
Pearl	... 5	William Boys	250	44	18	9	Fort St. David.
Eltham	... 5	Fiddeman	250	40	12	9	Ditto
Medways prize	... 5	Holmes	200	32	9	9	Ditto
Lively	... 6	Stevens	120	18	—	9	Off Karikal



India Ships wearing Pendants.									
Exeter	...	5	...	...	200	32	—	9	Fort St. David.
Bombay Castle	...	5	Thomas Broun	...	200	32	—	9	Ditto
Winchelsea	...	5	...	...	200	32	—	9	Ditto
Benjamin	...	6	...	...	70	20	—	6	Tranquemalla.
Swift Snow	...	6	...	...	30	14	—	4	Fort St. David.
George Snow	...	6	...	...	20				

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The above is the Complement of Men the Ships should have altho some are 40 short. In the beginning of March we received the agreeable News of Admiral Hawk's success (12), and of the force intended for India under the command of Admiral Boscawen. Soon after we were ordered to Point De Galle at the Island of Ceylon and during the passage were alarmed with a cry of Fire and a column of smoke coming up the fore Hatchway ; Mr. Holt the 2d. Lieutenant and Mr. Smart the Gunner immediately ran to the place from whence it proceeded in the Carpentars Storeroom threw themselves on the top and smothered it until water was handed down and it was extinguished ; a few moments more would have rendered it impossible, it being Oakum that had occasioned the smoke, the Carpenters Yeoman having as he went on deck for a necessary purpose unknowingly overset the Lanthorn and the candle burning through the horn had fired the Oakum to the other Stores of Tar Pitch &c. immediately above the Powder Magazine of 300 to 400 barrels. It was a most providential escape ; we were then in sight, but at a great distance from the shore of Ceylon ; on the first alarm some of the Crew ran to the boats and were fixing the Tackles to hoist them out instead of assisting to extinguish the fire for which they were afterwards punished ; they proved to be all Irishmen and here I would notice that altho I have known many worthy and estimable Characters of that nation, yet the lower Orders, at least such as were in our Ship were leaders in every disturbance and backward in duty and action ; perhaps we may have been more unlucky in that respect than other Ships. When arrived at Point de Galle we found the *Prince William*, *Porto Bello*, and *True Briton* from England with Treasure &ca. for Fort St. David to which place we convoyed them.

In May the *Exeter* arrived from the coast of Malabar, having with the *Winchester* (that afterwards proceeded to Bombay) drove the *St. Lewis* Ship of war of 44 Guns on shore at the French Settlement of Mahie and battered her to peices.

Two days after the *Exeters* arrival I received a Letter from Mr. Haman the Commodore's Secretary informing me there was a vacancy for a Purser on board the *Exeter* which would occasion some removes, and if Capt. Carteret would ask it as a favour I might be assured of a Warrant for some of the Ships it may be proper here to remark that Commodore

(12) The victory over the French fleet off Rochella in Oct., 1747.

Griffin was bred to the sea from his youth without any further education than suited such a mode of life, and altho he had come into notice by being an intrepid Seaman and when promoted to be a Lieutenant and afterwards Captain, a strict disciplinarian, yet the rough manners of the Tar were not rubb'd off by the polish of the Gentleman; and his coarse overbearing behaviour to the Captains of the Squadron had so disgusted them that altho as their duty required they obeyed his orders none of them (his own Captain excepted, rough as himself) would associate or have any further communication with him; so necessary it is for a Commander in chief amongst other qualifications to have engaging manners that his orders may be executed with promptitude and alacrity from regard and affection, rather than dragged to it by a sense of duty only. The Captain being on shore it was gratifying to see the keenness the Officers expressed that I should avail myself of the present offer by going on shore to the Captain without delay, and altho it blew a hard gale a boat was sent and landed me not without some risque from the very high surf, when I Immediately waited on him and found him at a house with several other Captains of the Squadron who on my showing him the Letter returned to the Company who I apprehend he consulted with and after some time gave me a Letter directed to the Commodore, assuring me he would do every thing in his power to promote my Interest, altho I saw evidently he was embarrassed: I accordingly delivered the Letter to the Commodore which was to this purpose "That as he understood there was a vacancy for a Purser by the death of the Purser of the *Exeter*, if he had no Person to provide for in that station or that was qualified for it, he took the liberty to recommend me as a person of great sobriety and concluded with an apology for not waiting on him. I was surprized and chagrined at so cold and distant a Letter; especially as Captain Carteret had repeatedly promised to apply for a Pursuers Warrant when a vacancy offered and desired me to instruct some capable person of the Ship in the duty of Captains Clerk to supply my place should such a thing take place: I was sure the Letter had been framed by the Cabal and could have no good effect. The Commodore said he was sorry for my misfortune but desired me to let Captain Carteret know he was not destitute of Persons qualified for that station, but that he intended it as a favour to him, and did not expect to receive such an insulting Letter. I intreated Mr. Haman to delay filling up the Warrant until I returned with Captain Carterets answer; he promised he would not. I went instantly to Captain Carteret, informed him of the animadversions Commodore (now Admiral) Griffin had made on his Letter and represented that such an opportunity might not again offer; and that his only asking it as a favour would procure me an advantageous post perhaps for Life; and that from every circumstance he might perceive it was the Admirals wish and that he would certainly deem it an affront if he did not; he said Mr. Griffin had used him so ill (of which afterwards) that he could not brook coming under any obligation to him were it for his Brother; I however continued to use the most prevailing arguments and he knew all the Officers were interested in my success, which at last procured a Letter to this effect That he was sorry he had not

explained himself so fully in the morning as he ought to have done, but should always take it as a great favour to have me made a Purser, and should esteem it as such if he would do it. When the Admiral perused this Letter he seemed highly pleased, expressed much regard for Capt. Carteret, congratulated me on my promotion and ordered his Secretary to make out a Warrant appointing me Purser of the *Medways* prize from the 6th May 1748 and administer the Oaths, which done he said he should be glad to oblige Capt. Carteret with anything in his power, and hoped this would be a means of promoting my Fortune and Happiness ; I made a suitable return and departed. By this the Admiral probably meant to detach Capt. Carteret from the other Captains who resented his supercilious ungracious behaviour, or to atone for a exercise of his power at which Capt. Carteret had been much disgusted. Miss Fitzackerly an agreeable Girl of a respectable family was Passenger (then about 16 years of age) in one of the Ships we convoyed from England for Bengal where she was to be under the care of a Lady Russel (13) at Calcutta her Aunt ; Capt. Carteret had often seen her at their dining parties in fine weather during the passage and particularly while at the Cape of Good Hope ; and whether he had then taken an attachment to her or afterwards when he went to Calcutta to visit her while we were in Culpee road, or had been inviegled by Lady Russel a gay artful woman ; so it was, he then married her to the astonishment of every person who knew him particularly his Brother Captains, as she had no remarkable personal attractions, had no fortune, could not imbibe very good principles at Lady Russels, known to be a Woman of extravagance and dissipation where rout succeeded rout ; and he had only acquired three or four hundred pounds more than his Pay ; a trifle to the Sums in Rupees and Pagoda's gambled for at Lady Russels ; beside the imprudence of the time when the Enemy was near with a superior Force daily expected. It gave me peculiar pain as I knew that Lord Granville who was at the head of the Ministry when we left England, and to whom he was related, was his Patron, with whom he abode when in London, And by whose influence he was first appointed Capt. of the *Greyhound* and afterwards removed to the *Dolphin* as a better sailer of 20 Guns each, and then to the *Harwich* one of the finest 50 Guns ships in the Navy, and appointed to this Voyage which was thought an advantageous one ; and so much interested was he in his welfare that when fitting at Sheerness and he was attacked with a Fever Lord Granville sent

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### (13) LADY RUSSELL.

Lady Russell (Ann Gee, daughter of Zacharia Gee) a Bengal Merchant, was married on the 15th February 1728 to Sir Francis Russell (6th Baronet), Chief at Kasimbazar 1728—1731 and 1741—43 and Member of Council at Calcutta 1731—1741. Sir Francis was a grandson of Frances, the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell. On the death of Sir Francis on the 26th February 1743 at Calcutta, Ann (Lady Russell) married a second husband, a Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, on the 30th November 1744, and continued to live in Calcutta in her house at the South-east corner of the Green before the fort, with the style and address as Lady Russell. She had to leave Calcutta during its seige by Sirajadulla on the 26th June 1756 for Fulta where she presumably died. Her will dated the 24th August 1756, proved in the Mayor's Court, Calcutta 1757.—(Compiled by Bengal Record Room).

his own Physician and one of the Kings Yachts (only appropriate to the Royal Family) to convey him to his Lodging in London that there might be proper care and attention used for his recovery ; it was suggested that on his return to England Lord Granville would not be averse to a match with his youngest Daughter. As I considered myself obliged to him in the highest degree for having taken me for his Clerk at Lisbon in the *Greyhound* when in a very destitute forlorn situation and carried me with him to the different Ships for which he was appointed and always behaved to me with kindness ; he was of genteel polished manners, respected by his Officers and beloved by his Ships Company ; but after his marriage the cause of being particularly disgusted was, having sent for his wife when we arrived at Fort St. David which was deemed our rendezvous : Mr. Griffin ordered him on a cruise for upwards of a month, where any other ship in the squadron would have answered as well, immediately after Mrs. Carteret landed, and would not, altho requested, allow her to go with him ; it was thought by all, a rough, not to call it rude disciplinarian exercise of Power, and gave the first rise to that antipathy which with concurrent causes, the Captains ever after bore towards him. I am sorry to say that after that time Captain Carterets disposition altered much ; from a chearful social disposition he acquired a distant peevish temper with encreased, as he was deprived of his Command to go home in the *Preston* (to prevent interruption it is noticed here altho after in point of date) to be evidence in a Court martial to be held on Capt. Peyton ; which together with the idea that he had lost Lord Granville's favour by his marriage preyed on his Spirits and occasioned the Decline that afterwards terminated in death.

Captain Carteret on my return from the Admiral with a Pursers Warrant for the *Medways* prize, congratulated and wished me success, as did the Officers, from whom I had always experienced much notice and kindness.

. On the 8th May I went on board the *Medways* prize and was received by Captain Holmes with an assurance of his favour from Captain Carterets recommendation and immediately entered on the execution of my Office. The *Lively* stationed for some time past off Karical arrived in the Road on the 9th June at 10 O'clock P.M. firing Guns and making false fires as signals of having discovered strange Ships ; next day at 11 A.M. eight large Vessels appeared to the southward coming before the wind with a croud of sail towards us—made the necessary preparation for weighing and fighting. At 4 P.M. discovered the eight Ships to be French Ships of war with two Tier of guns each then brought too with their heads to the east in a Line of battle. At 5 P.M. they made sail, tacked and stood to the south. The *Harwich* joined from off Ponderry by signal. The *Pearl* and *Eltham* having their Rudders on shore repairing ; part of their Crews were sent on board the Ships that were short of Complement together with all the men capable of duty from the Hospital. The French were probably deceived by observing so many large Ships in the road ; altho some of them were Indianmen and Country Ships who by hoisting Pendants and answering the signals favoured the deceit. As they seemed to be of equal if not superior

June 1748 Encounter  
with French squadron.

force to us ; Had they, instead of shortning sail, attacked us immediately in the confused state we were at that time, they would probably have made an advantageous impression, and we should have suffered deeply. Griffins dilatory irresolute Conduct on this occasion (14) was a perfect contrast to the Courage, promptitude and discipline of Barnet, who would have had the Squadron fit for action in a fourth of the time ; under sail, and ready to attack and prevent them from relieving Pondecherry or Madrass which was evidently their intention. The Squadron weighed by signal at midnight and proceeded off Pondecherry to prevent the French Ships from getting there, the last sight we had of them was about 7 P.M. then almost dark when they were standing south for the purpose as was apprehended of slipping past us to Pondecherry during the night ; at day light they were not in view. The *Lapwing* and *Swift Snow* both fast Sailers were ordered to the South to look out for them but to no purpose. At night crouded sail for Madrass where we arrived next day about two O'clock P.M. where we saw only one ship near to and under the protection of the Fort. We learned that the French ships had arrived there, landed Men, Money and warlike stores and immediately sailed, leaving the *Princess Amelia* the India ship they formerly captured. The current setting strong to the north it was 14 or 15 days before we got back to Fort St. David, and soon after three India ships arrived with provisions and stores for Mr. Boscawen's Squadron which left England before them. On the 4 July Capt. Holmes was appointed for the *Medway* at Tranquemalla in the room of Capt. Peyton ordered home (15) to a Court martial appointed to enquire into his conduct while commanding the Squadron, and was succeeded in the *Medways* prize by the Admiral's first Lieutenant Mr. Nicolas Vincent who came from England 3d. Lieutenant of the *Harwich* and whose Cabin being contiguous to mine and of simular dispositions I had there contracted an intimacy and great regard for him, as he often asked me to join him in the literary and musical amusements in which his Brother Officers seemed to discover little pleasure ; so that it was with peculiar satisfaction I hailed him as my Captain, especially as I experienced Mr. French an illiturate but good tempered Officer the first Lieutenant ; the second Lieut. Mr. Weldon, rude, quarrelsome, sullen and revengeful, disliked by the Officers and detested by the crew ; I had the misfortune unknowingly and without any cause to become the object of his

(14) According to the D. N. B., the captain of the *Exeter* on reaching England in April 1750 charged Griffin with letting slip this opportunity and other instances of neglect of duty. Griffin was court martialled and sentenced to be suspended from his rank and employment but he was reinstated in January 1752. "He seems to have endeavoured to atone for his shyness before the enemy by overbearing treatment of his subordinates and notwithstanding the restoration of his rank, the Admiralty exercised a wise descretion in never employing him again." D. N. B.

(15) According to the D. N. B., it was shortly after his arrival in December 1746 that Commodore Griffin put Peyton under arrest and sent him to England. No charges were preferred against him there and he was released. He died shortly afterwards in April 1749. "It is quite possible that Peyton was not lacking in personal courage, it can scarcely be doubted that he was wanting both in the judgment and the high moral courage needed in an efficient Commander." D. N. B.

resentment ; unless it was from envy that I received some civiltys from the Captain perhaps more than he did ; he did me much hurt by wasting the Candles &ca. until checqued by the Captain and Officers. How disagreeable ! not to me only but to the other persons of the Mess to have such a person amongst us, never partaking of our amusements but keeping a sullen reserve and silence ; he was a character the most disagreeable I ever met with. We sailed with Capt. Holmes to Tranquemalla where he took the command of the *Medway*, which tho carreened was still very leaky ; We returned by Negapatam, where we took in arrack for the Squadron and joined them in Fort St. David road, Mr. Griffin having received his Commission as Rear Admiral by the *Hardwick* Indiaman and hoisted the red Flag at the *Princess Mary's* Mizentopmasthead.

15th Rear Admiral Boscawen (16) of the *Blue* arrived in the *Namur* with the *Deptford* and a Bomb Tender, and next day the *Vigilant*, *Pembroke*, *Chester*, *Ruy*, *Deal Castle*, *Swallow Snow* and *Basilisk* Bomb, and 14 India ships with Soldiers and Stores. The men were landed consisting of 12 independant Companys of 100 each, and 120 belonging to the Train of Artillery with the Ordinance Stores and the requisites for a Camp. which was formed at the back of the Garden house ; All the Marines were sent from the Ships to the Camp with a part of the Garrison of Fort St. David and every preparation made for marching to and investing Pondecherry, while Admiral Griffin was making ready with the *Princess Mary*, *Medway* and *Pearl* to sail for Tranquemalla to refit to be afterwards joined by the *Winchester* and *Lively* and proceed to England, and the *Medways* prize to go to Calcutta with the Agent Victualer to procure provisions for the Voyage. The *Preston* was surveyed, condemned as unfitt for Sea, her Guns sent to the Fort ; the Crew, Stores, Amunition, Provisions &ca. distributed amongst the Squadron and the Ship ordered to Tranquemalla to be converted to a Hulk. Captain Carteret with his first Lieutenant Mr. Cow and others were ordered to England as Evidences in Capt. Peytons tryal, Lieutenant Adams of the *Princess Mary* succeeding to the command of the *Harwich* ; a aimiable young man ; soon after killed by a Cannon ball from Pondecherry and much regreted. Admiral Griffin with his Squadron and the *Preston* Hulk sailed to Tranquemalla and Admiral Boscawens Ships off Pondecherry under the Orders of Capt. Lisle of the *Vigilant* while he commanded the Army which were marched to Arreocupong (17) a small Fort on the verge of Pondecherry bounds which being reconoitered by one of the Enginiers, and storming it declared practicable, it was stormed accordingly and our Troops beat back with considerable loss, concealed and masked Batteries having been opened upon them ; however it was found diserted next morning and blown up by our Army.

(16) Distinguished himself in the victory over the French fleet off Cape Finisterre in May 1747 and in recognition of his services, was appointed Commander-in-Chief by sea and land of His Majesty's forces in the East Indies.

(17) 18 days were wasted in the reduction of an utterly insignificant outlying fort. D. N. B.

August 5th Sailed from Fort St. David road, detained two days off Pondecherry, and ordered to proceed with the *York* and four large Ships off Madrass and make a feint of attacking it to divert some of the force from Pondecherry ; when arrived, formed the Line of Battle and paraded about a gun shot from the Fort with many signals for two days, then left them in prosecution of our Voyage to Calcutta. Called at Vizagapatam, where the *Swallow* Snow had lately been, to learn if they could procure any information of the French Ships that were at Madrass and supposed had gone to the Northward ; but they heard nothing of them ; the India Company have a small Factory at Vizagapatam walled round with some Cannon mounted and Batterys fronting the sea but no moat ; the chief Commodities are Cambric's, Longcloth, Boxes and Escritores of Ebony &c. curiously inland with Silver or Ivory.

29th arrived in Balasore road and proceeded up the river Hughly to Calcutta Aug. 1748. Calcutta where we found the *Lively* but no account of the French Ships. Possessed a House at Calcutta for three months to make Candles and provide necessaries for the Ship while she was careening, refitting and taking in provisions for the Squadron ; during which time, in September, the Gentoo's grand annual Feast was celebrated by every individual that by parsimony and hoarding throughout the year could afford the expence ; a great emulation prevailing on that occasion to excell in show and Splendour. At the upper end of a large oblong Hall decorated with figured Chintz hangings, large wax candles &c., day being excluded, on a Pedestal raised from the Floor by a flight of Steps under a Canopy with Curtains of rich Silk or Chintz is placed a hideous figure of painted wood superbly dressed with Jewels, Pearls &c. to represent Jagernaut, their favourite Deity. On each side the Hall are covered Tables with benches furnished with all the delicacies of the Country ; and one with the choicest Viands and Liquors for such Eurpeons as are admitted. When a Gentoo enters he approaches by the Area in the middle of the Hall with much seeming devotion to the foot of the Steps and having made a low obeisance and short Prayer retires to his place at one of the Tables. Music, Dancing Girls with every Festivity that can be devised is exhibited for two days ; On the third the Idol is placed in a Budjero or Barge with a procession of much pomp, accompanied with the country music and embellished with Flags, Streamers &c. and rowed to the middle of the River, covered with numbers of the same description ; the air resounding with music, blazing with Fireworks and roaring with repeated discharges of Cannon until the whole is concluded by loud acclamations on throwing Jagernaut with all his ornaments from each Budjero into the Ganges the water of which is deemed sacred ; it would be considered Sacriledge in a Gentoo to touch any of the floating Idols or their ornaments ; but Mahometans and other sectaries think it no impiety to strip them of such ornaments as they judge worth saving and afterwards to split and burn the Image. We were often amused with vague accounts of the capture of Pondecherry but a Ship arrived the latter

end of November from Fort St. David with certain information that the  
 Attempts on Ponde- seige was raised, (18) with the loss of great number of  
 cherry fails 1748. our men by the Enemy and the rainy season ; the  
 Troops from Europe being mostly new raised and  
 being obliged to stand in the Trenches half submerged in water, the mortality  
 was very great ; indeed it was thought by most People a very improper season  
 to commence the Seige.

Calcutta the principal Settlement and Presidency of the English East India Company at Bengal, is situated on the Bank of one of the branches of the Ganges called Hugly river about 100 Miles from the Sea. The Governors House and Companys Store and Warehouses, surrounded by a high wall without any moat, with Bastions planted with a few Cannon and a Battery of 30 Guns facing the River and a feeble Garrison it may be sufficient to resist a Country, but not a European Force. The Houses of the British, scattered at a small distance from the Fort, and forming a very irregular area in the Center, are elegant, airy and spacious, detached the one from the other ; with Gardens producing Fruits, Vegetables and Flowers of the Torrid and many of those peculiar to the temperate Climes. The cool of the morning and evening is appropriated to Excursions in Carriages or on Horse back alongst fine Roads and a level country, the intermediate time to Refection, Business and Amusement. The town of Calcutta is about two Miles north of the Fort, open, without any defence of great extent, and inhabited by Gentoo's, Mahometans, Portuguese, Jews, Armenians &c. who have each their places of worship as Pagoda's, Mosque's, Churches, adhering to their own Modes without interference with others or proselytism. The soil marshy and damp must be unwholesome, particularly in the rainy season, and from the vicinity of the River and a very extensive Lake which is about three or four Miles distant & in no part above 18 Inches deep, frequented by innumerable Flocks of wild Geese, Ducks, Teal &c. where the Sportsman, in a Conoe at dawn of day and sometime after may do great execution. Cold raw Fogs, mostly prevailed during the night while I remained at Calcutta, which dispersing at Sunrise, as the day advances the heat becomes intollerable. During the night also Jackals, with which the Country abounds, and sometimes Tygers, come into and clear the streets of every impurity, the Jackals at times making such a yelling horrid barking noise, in which they are joined by all within hearing, that the whole region resounds ; As the Gentoo's carry their dying and dead within high water mark of the sacred River, numbers of their Bodies floated past every day with Crows upon and picking them ; or if thrown ashore, where they emit a most insufferable stench, the Jackals and paria Dogs in the night clear them to the Bone. To kill a Crow or any of those Animals that are such useful Scavengers would give great umbrage and be resented.

(18) The D. N. B. attributes the failure largely to the fact that Boscawen had got special instructions to be guided in the siege operations by the opinion of the engineers, to whom are attributed pedantic ignorance of their profession and utter want of practical training.



20th November Sailed from Calcutta—at Ingelee road compeated the Cargo of Stores and Provisions.

29th proceeded, after calling at Fort St. David where we learned Peace was concluded, to Tranquemalla there the Stores and Provisions were distributed to the several Ships of the Squadron having Wooded and Watered

[1749]

weighed on the 28th January 1749 with the *Princess Mary, Medway, Winchester, Pearl* and *Lively* and

Cape of Good Hope.

arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 19th March happy to meet my former acquaintance, where I experienced the same Civility as before, to the 1st May when we sailed, and after an uncommon tedious passage anchored at St. Helena the 26th ;

St. Helena.

remained there supplying the Crews with fresh provisions and vegetables and the Ships with water &ca. until the 15th June that we departed. During our stay the Officers that could be spared from Duty on board mostly boarded at Houses in Chapel Valley where they were highly gratified with the Company of agreeable young Ladies, passing the Evenings in a variety of pleasing Amusements ; it being usual for them on the arrival of Ships to come from the Country to enjoy the pleasure of Society from which at other times they are in a great measure precluded. The Officers of our Ship and some that were passengers having agreed on leaving Tranquemalla to amuse a tedious passage by taking such parts of the Tragedy of the Fair Penitent (19) as suited them, and by often rehearsing it on the Quarter deck having become tollerably perfect, it was mentioned at the Governors Table when the Admiral and Captains were dining with him, and a message sent by them requesting we would act it on shore, and in that event the Governor would cause erect a temporary Stage with benches in the Barracks and accomodate us with his Music and such suitable dresses as the Island could afford to which the Admiral would add his Music, and Colours for Scenes : It was accordingly performed before a numerous Audience of 1000 at least who were pleased repeatedly to express their approbation, the residents of the Island having never witnessed a dramatic exhibition before, and towards the Catastrophe gave vent to their feelings in a plentiful Effusion of Tears. As it was in compliance with the request of the Governor and Admiral &ca. they complimented us on the performance, returned thanks for the pleasure they had reaped and insisted on paying the expence which we would not accept.

14th June parted from St. Helena and after passing the Island of Ascension and through the Azores arrived in soundings the 28th July where we were alarmed by the death of Lord Thomas Bertie of the *Winchester* in a Apoplectic fit, much respected a excellent officer and a easy pleasant and agreeable Companion & universally regreted ; Capt. Vincent was appointed to the *Winchester* and succeeded by Capt. Christian of the *Lively* : next day

England July 1749.

we arrived at Spithead after a most agreeable passage. Mr. Weldon immediately wrote to the Lords of the

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(19) Produced in 1703 by Nicolas Rowe : an extremely successful play constantly revived till the early 19th century. Garrick acted Lothario in the play which also provided Mrs. Siddons with one of her most successful parts.

Admiralty requesting he might be indulged with liberty to leave the Ship at Spithead as he had cause to dread personal danger from the Crew which was granted & he left us accordingly and never heard of him after. Capt. Carteret and his Wife came Passengers in the *Winchester*, and as he was far gone in a decline he was advised to go to Bristol for the benefit of the Waters where he soon after died, and his wife returned to India and was again married. Sailed to Deptford and was by the unskilfulness of the Pilot grounded on a sand in the Swin where we ran much hazzard, but by throwing some of our Guns and all our Lumber overboard and after beating two days we heaved her off and proceeded up the River to Deptford where we were soon after paid off and the Ship put out of Commission and sold.

A. CASSELLS.

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## Three Sea Captains.

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A MONUMENT in the South Park Street cemetery is inscribed with the name of Captain Anthony Hunt, "late commander of His Majesty's ship *La Virginie* and Post Captain in the Royal Navy", who died at Calcutta on August 10, 1798, after a short illness, in the twenty eighth year of his age. The *Virginie* had brought out Lord Mornington on May 18; and the circumstances of Capt. Hunt's death are recorded by William Hickey in an unpublished portion of his Memoirs. He fell a sacrifice (says Hickey) to the mistaken idea that such was the strength and vigour of his constitution that he might set the influence of the sun at absolute defiance by exposing himself to its scorching rays at all hours of the day (1). We read that he was in the habit of going daily with his brother officer, "Capt. Cook of the *Sybil*", to superintend the repairs to the latter's ship. They used to go up and down to the dock in an open boat and when on shore would walk about for hours at a time, in spite of the remonstrances of "many experienced Indians", by which Hickey means Anglo-Indians. After pursuing this practice for nearly a fortnight, during which time Capt. Hunt "lived very freely both as to eating and drinking," he was "suddenly seized with a violent fever which in twenty four hours terminated his life."

His companion Capt. Edward Cooke (or Cook, as the name is spelled by Hickey and others), died at Calcutta a few months later, on May 23, 1799, at the age of twenty six, and was honoured with a public funeral. His grave is also in the South Park Street cemetery. He had been fatally wounded in the engagement in Balasore Roads on March 1 between the *Sybil* and *La Forte*, a French frigate of superior force. The monument erected in Westminster by the East India Company is placed immediately behind the memorial to General Wolfe. It is noticeable for a fine relief representing the ships in action which is surmounted by another relief of Cooke supported by one of his men after receiving his wound. The inscription records that "the event was not less splendid in its achievement than important in its results to the British trade in India."

The *Sybil* had taken Lord Mornington to Madras, to prosecute the final campaign against Tippoo Sultan, and had landed him there on December 31, 1798. On hearing of the depredations of *La Forte* in the Bay of Bengal, she sailed in search of her on February 21, 1799. Out of 300 men on the French

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(1) Hickey tells a similar story (Vol. IV, pp. 134-135) of Sir James Watson, a Serjeant-at-Law, who was sworn in on March 1, 1796, as a judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William, in succession to Sir William Jones, and who died on May 2.

ship 55 were killed, including the admiral, de Serci, a pupil of Suffren, the commander, and all the three lieutenants; and 85 were wounded. Owing to the fact that the fire of *La Forte* went clear over the heads of the crew of the *Sybille*, only 15 were killed and wounded on board that vessel: but among the killed was Captain Davis, an aide-de-camp of Lord Mornington, who was serving as a volunteer, and was buried at Diamond Harbour.

A graphic account of the fight, which lasted only an hour, is given by Captain R. W. Eastwick in his adventures of *A Master Mariner*. The French frigate had just captured Eastwick's ship the *Endeavour* and seven others in the Bay; and he was a prisoner on board when the *Sybille* fell in with her and forced her to haul down her flag. "When the ship struck," said *The Times* of August 3, 1799, "she was in possession of a boy." She is described as "perhaps the largest and most heavily armed frigate in the world," and carried fifty guns, or six more than the *Sybille*. There is an aquatint to be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall which represents the capture of *La Forte*: it was published in 1816.

A minor controversy has raged over the parentage of Capt. Cooke and the spelling of his name. Who was his father and should a final "e" be added to his name or not?

In the leading article already mentioned, *The Times* stated that "Captain E. Cook, who commanded the *Sybille*, is the son of the famous navigator of that name, and the officer who undertook the hazardous negotiation between Lord Hood and the Magistrates of Toulon, previous to our taking possession of that town and harbour" in August 1793. This article is reproduced in *A Master Mariner*, and Eastwick repeats the statement regarding the parentage. It is to be observed that the name is likewise spelled "Cook" on the monument in Westminster Abbey, while the Calcutta inscription adds the final "e." But there was no uniformity about the spelling of proper names in those days: and the discrepancy is really not material.

Of more importance are the facts disclosed in the account of Captain James Cook, the circumnavigator, which is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is there stated that he had six children, of whom three died in infancy, and the following particulars of the survivors are supplied. Hugh died while at Cambridge at the age of seventeen; Nathaniel, at the age of sixteen, was lost in the *Thunderer* in the West Indies on October 3, 1780; and James, the eldest, who commanded the *Spitfire* sloop, was drowned on January 25, 1794, when attempting to go off to his ship in a heavy gale. It is clear, therefore, that the commander of the *Sybille* was not the son of the discoverer of Botany Bay and that the oracle of Printinghouse-square was at fault. Who then was the father? Professor J. K. Laughton, in his article on Captain Edward Cooke (1773-1799) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, mentions the Toulon incident and adds that he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the town and also that he was in charge of the landing at Calvi in Corsica in June 1794, under Nelson who lost an eye during the operations. But he goes on to say, quite definitely, that Captain Edward Cooke of the *Sybille* was the son of Colonel Cooke of Harefield, in the county of Middlesex,

and that he had two brothers, General Sir George Cooke, who lost his right arm at Waterloo, where he commanded the first division, and Sir Henry Frederick Cooke, private secretary to the Duke of York, the royal prince who stands, like St. Simeon Stylites, on the top of a lofty column at the bottom of Waterloo Place in London. The authorities cited are James's *Naval History* (Vol. II., p. 365) and the *Naval Chronicle* (Vol. II., pp. 261, 378, 643). Dr. C. R. Wilson had, therefore, ample justification for accepting these details as correct in his *Inscriptions on Tombs in Bengal* (p 78).

It remains to discover who Colonel Cooke of Harefield was. William Hickey omits all mention of the capture of *La Forte*, but tells us in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 202) that "the *Sybil* frigate, being in want of repairs in her hull, was brought up to Calcutta to undergo them," (this was just before she took Lord Mornington to Madras in December 1798), and that "she was commanded by Captain Cook, a gallant young man of only twenty-two years of age, full of vigour and spirits. He was son to the gentleman who long represented the county of Middlesex in Parliament, until he was thrown out by the mad popularity of John Wilkes in the year 1768." But Hickey is as wrong in his allusion to John Wilkes as he is in his estimate of the young commander's age. Owing to the marked absence of any corroboration of Hickey's statement by contemporary writers, I consulted my friend Mr. Leonard R. Wharton of the British Museum. He was good enough to look up the Returns of Members elected to the House of Commons and writes: "The members for Middlesex returned on April 7, 1761, were Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart, K.B. and George Cooke, Esq. Cooke was re-elected in 1766 on his appointment as Paymaster-General of the Land Forces. In the Parliament of 1768, elected on March 28, the members for Middlesex were at first George Cooke and John Wilkes; but on December 19, 1768, John Glynn was elected in the place of George Cooke, deceased." The victim of the "mad popularity" of Wilkes was, therefore, Sir William Proctor; and as George Cooke died in 1768, he could not have been the father of Capt. Edward Cooke of the *Sybil*, who was born in 1773. He was probably the grandfather.

In March 1805 another British man of war, H. M. S. *San Fiorenzo* (Capt. Henry Lambert) arrived in the Hooghly with a French prize, *La Psyché*, which was captured off Ganjam on February 14, after a long and severe engagement. It was by the merest accident that the French ship, while "in the cruising ground," missed three transports which were bringing troops from Trincomalee to Calcutta without an escort (2). There is an aquatint representing the fight in the Lyell collection which has just been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Three years later, the same British frigate, which was then under the

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(2) Capt. Henry Lambert, when in command of another frigate, H. M. S. *Java*, was killed on December 29, 1812, in an action with the U. S. S. *Constitution* (Capt. William Bainbridge) off the coast of Brazil. The *Java* was captured but was so badly damaged that she was destroyed. In a recent catalogue issued by Mr. F. T. Sabin, a London art dealer, a reproduction is given (Plate XXIII) of an aquatint representing the action.

command of Capt. George Nicholas Hardinge, a younger brother of Viscount Hardinge of Lahore, the Governor General, chased and brought into action in the Gulf of Mannar on three successive days (March 6 to 8, 1808) the French frigate *La Piémontaise*, which had been the terror of the Indian seas. The *San Fiorenzo* carried 36 guns and 186 men, the Frenchman 50 guns and 566 men. The casualties on the former were 13 killed and Lieut. Moyses and 25 men wounded: on the latter 48 killed and 112 wounded. According to the *Ceylon Gazette* of March 16, the captured frigate was "towed a perfect wreck into Colombo on March 13": but she was afterwards employed in the British Service.

On the third day of the fight and after the action had lasted for an hour and twenty minutes, Hardinge was killed by a grape-shot, just before the French commander, Captain Eperon, surrendered. Although he was buried with full military honours in the Pettah cemetery at Colombo, and imposing monuments were erected in St. Paul's Cathedral in London and St. Thomas's Cathedral in Bombay (3), there is nothing to mark his grave. His first Lieutenant William Dawson, who succeeded him in the command of the *San Fiorenzo*, died at Madras on September 29, 1811, at the age of twenty eight, which was also Hardinge's age. The inhabitants of Bombay presented a vase worth 300 guineas to Hardinge's father, who was a Durham rector and a sword worth 150 guineas to Dawson.

It may be asked how these young men came to command His Majesty's ships of war. The answer is that in those days the master, who was a warrant officer, and a trained navigator, sailed the ship and brought her alongside: the Captain's duty was to fight her.

EVAN COTTON.

[Portions of the article on Captain Edward Cooke were printed in the *Statesman* of June 19, 1932].

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(3) The former monument was erected by an unanimous vote of the House of Commons. the latter by "the public spirit" of Bombay. "Animated by the example of his great master Nelson" says the Bombay inscription, "he acquired an early fame and died a hero's death."

## More Monumental Inscriptions—A.

### HINGOLI, HYDERABAD STATE.

*(From a list kindly supplied by the District Engineer, Northern District, H.E.H. The Nizam's State Railway).*

1030. Mary GRANT, wife of Captain Charles St. John Grant, Madras Service. Died 23 March 1824, aged 25.
1031. Frances Falkland Murray, son of C.. St. GRANT. Died 8 July 1929, aged 14 months.
1032. Thomas Vallancey LYSAGHT, Brevet Major 1st Bengal Fusiliers and Brigade Major and Paymaster, Hingoli Division, Nizam's Army. Died 29 June 1849, aged 45.
1033. Maria Nugent, wife of Capt. T. V. LYSAGHT, 1st B.E.L. Infantry. Died 25 April 1843, aged 28 years and 6 months.
1034. John James, infant son of Lieut. J. J. HAMILTON, 2nd Bengal Grenadiers. Died 10 December 1848, aged 1 months and 4 days.
1035. Elizabeth Anne Peel, wife of Capt. C. V. SWINTON, 35th B. N. Infantry. Died 28 August 1845, aged 16 years and 6 months.
1036. Frances, wife of Capt.-Comdt. John Smith YOUNG, H. H. the Nizam's Cavalry. Died 6 March 1835, aged 46 years.
1037. Colin McLACHLAN Esqre., Surgeon H. H. Nizam's Cavalry. Died 14 August 1845, aged 56 years.
1038. Claire Le Baron, daughter of Henry and Mary Anne STODDARD. Born 9 November 1847, died 3 August 1849.
1039. William Grant RAYNSFORD, son of Edward and Eliza Anne Raynsford. Born 7 May 1838, died 4 June 1840.
1040. Jane Evelina, born 10 July 1848, died 11 April 1853; and Anne Isabella, born 12 November 1851, died 12 April 1853: daughters of Major WHISTLER, 6th Light Cavalry and Evelina his wife.
1041. Major Owen Wynne GRAY of H. M. and H. H. Nizam's Service. Died 27 August 1838, aged 49 years.
1042. Arthur ROBERTS, Lieutenant and Adjutant 7th Regiment H. H. Nizam's service. Died 20 January 1839, aged 28.
1043. Gabriel Garden LA(I)NG, Lieut. H. H. Nizam's Cavalry. Died 16 November 1829, aged 23.
1044. Quartermaster William RYAN, 1st Comp. Nizam's Artillery. Died of cholera at Huttee, 9 June 1851, aged 53 years and 6 months.
1045. Charlotte, Jane and Henry, children of James and Jane O'BRIEN, died at Pingli (? Hingoli), 25 May 1851.
1046. Jane, wife of J. O. B. O'BRIEN, died 1 October 1851, aged 39.

1047. Charlotte Mary, child of F. M. CAMPBELL, 4th the K.O. Regiment. Died 21 November 1847, aged 3 months.
1048. Erected in memory of—GRANT, died 10 March 1840 on his route to join the Regiment at Jubbulpore, by the officers of the . . . . . Regiment.

*PISHIN, BALUCHISTAN.*

The cemetery at Pishin contains 13 graves, of which 9 are marked with uninscribed wooden crosses, and a tenth bears only the nameless base of a granite memorial. The three remaining epitaphs are :—

1056. (Grave no. 1). Sacred to the memory of CHARLES ALFRED BEALE infant son of Captain A. Beale 5th Bombay Light Infantry, born 16th May 1895, (text) died 31st October 1895.
1057. (Grave no. 2). Sacred to the memory of Edith Mary wife of George F. DILLON, born 9th January 1865, died 13th December 1891.
1058. (Grave no. 6). In memory of FRANCIS WILLIAM STAVELEY JACKSON Captain 1st Bombay Lancers, born 25th October 1850, died 29th August 1885, second son of Sir Louis Steuart Jackson. Erected by his brother officers . . . . .  
[Sir Louis Steuart Jackson (1824-1890), C.I.E., I.C.S., judge of the Calcutta High Court].

*QUETTA, new cemetery.*

1059. In memory of Herbert De Lisle only son of Lt. Col. G. H. LE MOTTEE R. A. M. C., born March 7th 1897, died June 5th 1898.
1060. In loving memory of Joan Mary daughter of Captain J. H. PECK 127th Baluch L. I., born 15th October 1902, died 4th September 1904.
1061. Florence VAN DER PANT of the C. M. S. died Sept. 8th 1905, aged 32 (*Also an Urdu inscription*).
1062. In ever loving memory of a most perfect son and brother William Arthur BAYLEY (Little Billee), Lieut. 27th Baluchis, who died at Chaman 23rd Sept. 1903, aged 25 years, dearly loved son of Col. H. E. D. Bayley.
1063. In loving memory of Frank Herrold CURTIS, born 14th August 1903, died 22nd Sept. 1903.
1064. In loving memory of "Our Jim", James B. COCHRAN, 2nd Lieut. Indian Army, who died of sunstroke July 10th 1903, aged 19 years 9 months.
1065. In loving memory of Winifred eldest daughter of Sir John Strachey, G. C. S. I., C. I. E., and the dearly loved wife of Hugh Shakespear BARNES, Revenue Commissioner in Baluchistan, born 29th Aug. 1864, died 20th August 1892.
1066. In loving memory of Gilbert GAISFORD Lt. Col. I. S. C., Political



- Agent Thal Chotiali, killed by a fanatic at Smallan March 15th 1898, aged 48.
1067. Sacred to the memory of Florence the darling wife of Lt. Col. H. C. HARFORD, comdg. 1st Wilts Regt., who left this earth on the 12th September 1900—enteric fever.
1068. In memory of Sergeant Major Samuel ROSTILL N. W. Rly. Vol. Rifles who died at Quetta on 12th August 1901 at the age of 42 ; after 23 years service in the army, the last 12½ years of which we served as Instructor to the N. W. Rly. Vol. Rifles. This monument is erected by the officers of the corps as a token of respect and esteem.
1069. In loving memory of my darling husband Arthur Alfred Lemere MAPP who departed this life on 4th June 1902 at Quetta of enteric fever, deeply mourned by his sorrowing wife and children.
1070. In loving memory of George Willoughby GOTT son of Lt. Col. G. A. Gott 7th Bo. Lancers and of Violet his wife.
1071. Sacred to the memory of Hilda Beatrice Letitia the dearly loved wife of Joseph William CALLAGHAN Engineman N. W. Rly. born 27th March 1876, died 3rd Jany. 1900.
1072. In loving memory of Hugo Anstruther Clennell dearly beloved son of Lieut. R. L. Clennell WILKINSON 7th Bombay Lancers and Mary Lucy, died at Quetta 1st July 1901 aged 3 years 5 months 15 days.
1073. Annie Cecilia wife of Major C. H. MELVILLE R. A. M. C. died 11th January 1898.
1074. In loving memory of Louisa Isabella youngest daughter of Rev. J. L. WYATT M.A., Rector of Brandon, Suffolk, for 330 years Missionary S. P. G. South India, and grand-daughter of the Right Rev. Bishop Caldwell, born November 27, 1875, died August 7, 1899.
1075. In loving memory of Gerald Henry Talbot the dearly loved child of Captain H. C. B. DANN A. J. A. G. and Maude his wife, who died on the 13th Feb. 1901 aged 9 months and 13 days.
1076. Sacred to the memory of Major General Sir James BROWNE, R. E., C. B., K. C. S. I., Agent to Governor General in Baluchistan, who died at Quetta, June 13th 1896, also of his eldest son James Frederick Browne, Captain Royal Artillery, born 14th May 1865, killed in the Tochi Valley June 10th 1897. (*Also Urdu inscription*).
1077. Ewen Hay CAMERON Captain Royal Engineers, died at Darwaza June 28th 1885.
1078. William Stewart Francis the beloved son of Major W. F. CLEEVE R. A. and of Gladys his wife, died September 27th 1895, aged 10 months.
1079. Ursula Emily Geraldine infant daughter of Major G. H. OVENS The Border Regt. died 22nd July 1896, aged 5 months, also Pamela, born March 23rd 1897, died April 5th.
1080. In loving memory of Phyllis Dorothy dearly beloved child of William L. and M. EDGE who died 12th July 1897 aged 1 year and 14 days.
1081. In loving memory of our "Minchin" Alfred Sperrin Lennox eldest

- son of William Hamilton Lennox MATHEWS and Winifred his wife, born 22nd April 1891, died 7th September 1896.
1082. (*Crest of Royal Artillery*) Erected by the officers, n. c. officers and men in memory of their comrades (*here follow names of one C. S. M., one corporal, two bombardiers and nine gunners*) who died during the stay of 23rd Coy. S. D. R. G. A. at Quetta. (*Dates of death, 1898 to 1900*).
1083. Raymond Francis Gordon HENNESSY son of Lieut. J. P. C. Hennessy, I. S. C., who fell asleep on the 13th Feb. 1897 aged 5 months and 18 days.
1084. In affectionate remembrance of Jane BROPHY wife of John Finlay Brophy who departed this life on 19th June 1901 aged 21 years.
1085. In memory of Madeline Marion Rhoda only child of Capt. J. R. WYNDHAM Wilts Regt. died May 28th 1898 aged 16 months.
1086. In loving memory of Henry Arthur the dearly loved infant son of Surgn. Capt. J. S. LUMSDEN, I. M. S. who died at Quetta on the 30th June 1898.
1087. In loving memory of Robin Arthur Roughton the dearly loved little son of Captn. R. L. BENWELL and of Alicia Eleanor his wife, taken home June 2nd 1905, aged 10 months.
1088. Jackie ANSCOMB died 10th August 1904, aged 10 years.
1089. Wiltshire Regiment. Sacred to the memory of the following non-commissioned officers, men, women and children who died during the stay of the Regiment in Quetta, 1895-1900. (*Here follow the names of 63 privates, 1 lance-corporal, 1 boy, 5 serjeants, one lance-serjeant, one woman, and 11 children*).
1090. In loving memory of Capt. R. SELOUS, York and Lancaster Regiment, who died Nov. 30th 1908, aged 34 years.
1091. In memory of Major General R. A. P. CLEMENTS, C. B., D. S. O., who died at Quetta on 3rd April 1909 aged 54 years when in command of the 4th (Quetta) Division. This stone is erected by the officers, past and present, of the 24th Regiment, South Wales Borderers, in which he served for 25 years. A true friend and a gallant soldier.
1092. In loving memory of Charles Johnston MILNE of Aberdeen, Scotland, died November 7th 1909, aged 53 years.
1093. Erected by the officers N. C. Os. and men of No. 9 Mountain Battery R. G. A. to the memory of their comrades who died during the years 1899-1906. (*Here follow the names of 17 gunners, 1 farrier-serjeant, 1 bombardier, 1 woman and 2 children*).
1094. Sacred to the memory of the officers non-commd. officers and men and of the children of the 2nd Battn. The Border Regt. who have died at Quetta between March 1896 and March 1899 (*here follow the names of Major Hamilton M. RICHARDS, died 19th Dec., 1896; Major Joseph LANGTON, died 15th June, 1896; one Q. M. S., 5 lance-corporals, 28 privates, and 8 children*).
1095. Sacred to the memory of Eva youngest daughter of Gavin JONES Esq.,

- and dearly loved wife of Capt. J. E. MOIR 10th Lancers who died at Quetta on the 19th June 1908 aged 28 years 7 months.
1096. In loving memory of our dear son (Eddie) E. W. J. MASON who died thro: an accident on 27th Dec., 1911 aged 36. He was a generous son, a good husband, and a kind father.
1097. In loving memory of Guy Drury PENNINGTON Lieut. 14th P. W. O. Sikhs who died at Quetta 2nd June 1909 aged 26 years.
1098. St. John Dacres Montgomery CAMPBELL 2nd Lieut. York and Lancaster Regiment, killed by a fall on Mt. Murdar 26th June 1908 aged 22½ years.
1099. In memory of Duncan Robert Wolseley GORDON York and Lancaster Regt. and 7th Gurkha Rifles, son of the late Katharine and Maj. Gen. A. H. A. Gordon ,98th and 65th Regts., born in Cyprus June 11th 1880, died at Quetta Jan. 1st 1909.
1100. Sacred to the memory of my loving husband Charles COPLESTONE who died on Sep. 9th 1906.
1101. In loving memory of Doreen Veronica daughter of Rev. and Mrs. A. Duncan DIXEY C. M. S. died February 11th 1906 aged 4½ months.
1102. Sacred to the memory of Frank Wilfred TARVER the beloved son of Captain and Mrs. A. L. Tarver, died 1st August 1903 aged 8 months.
1103. In loving memory of Edmund Charles Kennedy the dearly loved son of Major G. H. LEWIS 35th Scinde Horse and Helen his wife who died on the 18th November 1903 aged 9 months.
1104. In loving memory of William COOPER of Karachi who died May 27th 1903.
1105. In loving memory of Frances Theodora the dearly loved wife of Lieut. Colonel R. H. HARDY 1st Bn. Cheshire Regt. who fell asleep 23rd October 1902 aged 25.
1106. Charles Elphinstone BELLI-BIVAR Major 7th Bombay Lancers son of the late Colonel C. S. Belli-Bivar 1st Madras Lancers born December 28th 1861 died August 27th 1902.
1107. In loving memory of Beatrice Anscomb daughter of Ralph and Georgina BLISS born 19th March 1916 died 23rd Feby. 1917.
1108. Henrietta Flora child of John and Lucy SUMMERHAYES died 27th June 1905 aged 5 months.
1109. No. 7 Co. S. D. R. A. In memory of the following officers N. C. Os. and men of No. 7 Company Southern Division Royal Artillery who died at Quetta during the years 1894 to 1896 (*here follow the names of 2 corporals and 8 gunners: no officers*).
1110. In loving memory of Lizzie Emma MacBEAN the dearly wife of Duncan MacBean died 22nd November 1911. In loving memory of my darling Daddy, Duncan MacBean, manager of the late Punjab Bank Quetta who left us for his eternal home on the 22nd November 1921, died at Karachi aged 80 years 7 months and 27 days. By his loving daughter Lily.

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1111. Sacred to the memory of Colonel William St. Lucian CHASE, V. C., C. B., A. A. G. Quetta Division, late Commandant 128th Pioneers, born 21st August 1856, died 24th June 1908. Erected by his brother officers.
1112. In loving memory of Cecil George Fensley the dearly loved infant son of Albert and Mary McKINLEY, born 7 Febry. 1906, died 23rd March 1907.
1113. Sacred to the memory of Roland Laugharne Clennell WILKINSON Captain 37th Lancers dearly beloved husband of Mary Lucy, died October 25th 1905, aged 32.
1114. In loving memory of Mabel Clara elder daughter of Sir Wollaston Knocker C. B. of Dover and deeply loved wife of Captain J. H. DICKSON, Indian Army, who died of enteric fever at Quetta September 2nd 1903.
1115. In ever loving memory of Ethel Mary the dearly loved child of William and Jane WALLER who fell asleep November 5th 1903 aged 3 years and 6 months.

CAPT. H. BULLOCK.

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## The Daniells in India.

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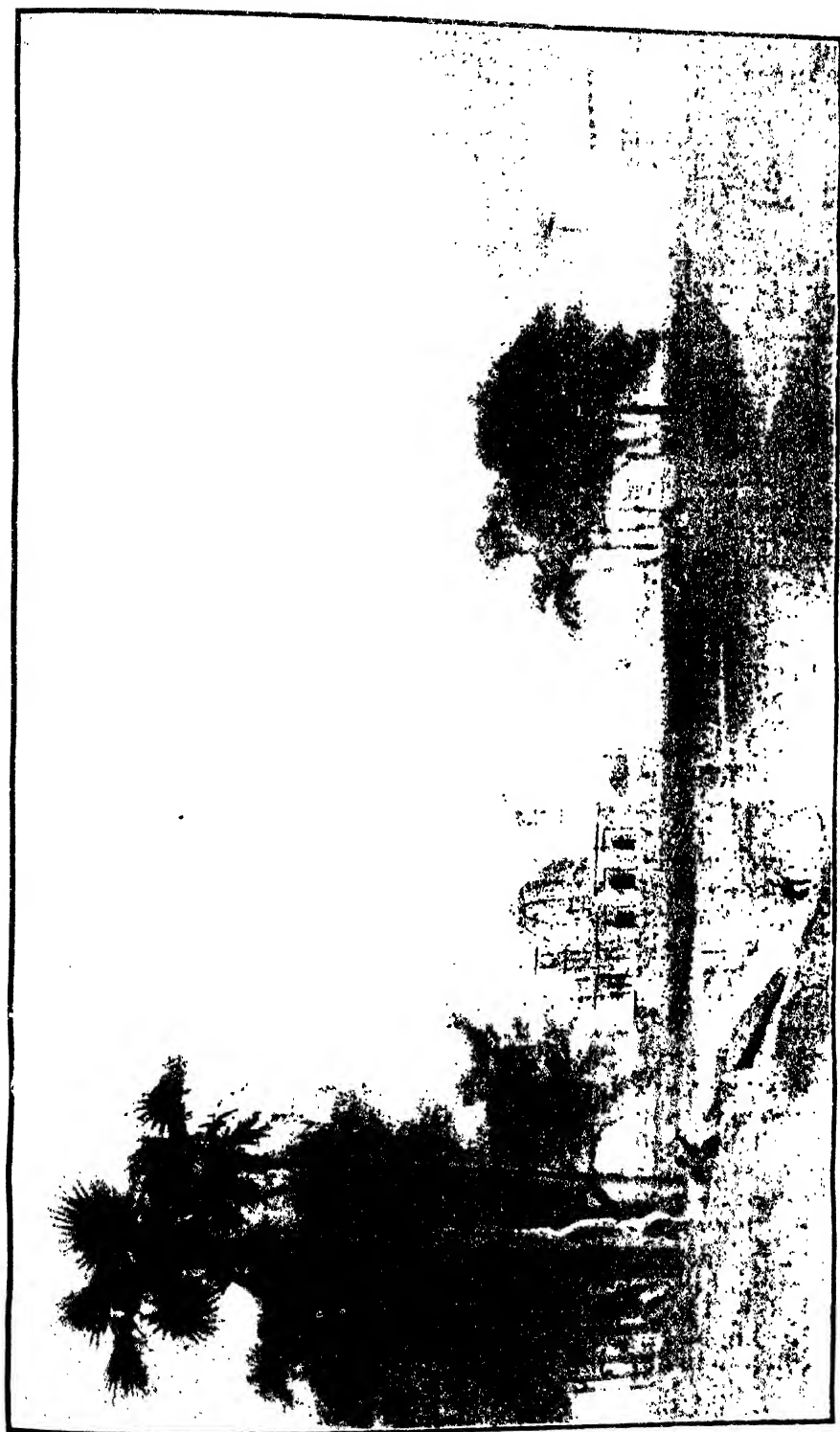
*Thomas Daniell, R.A. (1749-1840) and William Daniell, R.A. (1769-1837) : by Martin Hardie, R.I., R.E., and Muriel Clayton, M.A. (Walker's Quarterly, Nos. 35-36 : 118 New Bond Street, London, W. 1. Five Shillings Nett).*

THE occasion for this publication is the recent acquisition, and still more recent exhibition in London, by Walker's Galleries in New Bond Street of a collection of several hundred drawings, in pencil, wash and water-colour made by Thomas Daniell and his nephew William during their travels in India between the years 1786 and 1794. These drawings were purchased after the death of Thomas Daniell in 1840 by Sir Henry Russell, the second baronet of Swallowfield Park, Reading. Sir Henry's interest in India was personal as well as hereditary for he was the eldest son of William Hickey's patron, the Chief Justice of Bengal, and was himself Resident at Hyderabad from 1811 to 1820. That he bought the drawings from Thomas Daniell in person is unlikely. The *Literary Gazette* in its obituary notice wrote: "On his original drawings he set so high a store that he never would part with any of them, although on his return from India they were eagerly sought for by many persons of rank and wealth." But they passed at his death to his niece, who kept house for him, and it was she, no doubt, who sold them. At the same time, it is by no means certain that William Daniell can be excluded from consideration. For Sir Henry Russell was also the owner of several volumes of the manuscript journal kept by William Daniell in India, and of an album of watercolours entitled "Scenery on the River Ganges from Sirinagur [in Garhwal] to the sea, by William Daniell R. A." This album now forms part of the Walker collection, and the sketches in it are stated to be delicately tinted and attractive.

The one item of positive evidence, beyond the fact of Sir Henry Russell's possession, is a letter written in 1848 by J. Hogarth an art-dealer of Great Portland Street and subsequently of the Haymarket, who speaks of the drawings as being by Thomas Daniell, and offers to make arrangements for mounting them. It is likewise incontestable that many of the drawings served as the basis for the magnificent aquatints in *Oriental Scenery*.

The letterpress of this publication is divided into four parts. Firstly, there is an account of the artistic career and Indian travels of the Daniells. This is not as complete as it should be, and the whole story is as follows. There is undoubtedly a break in William Daniell's journal between May 19, 1789, when the artists arrived at Bisoulah (Bisauli) on their way "down the country" from Garhwal, and July 8, 1789, when we find them installed in

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Col. Claude Martin's house at Lucknow. But Mr. Hardie and his collaborator do not appear to be aware that there is a detailed record of their travels at Swallowfield in the handwriting of Sir Henry Russell, which fills the gap and tells us that they reached "Bareilly" on May 21, "Pillibeat" on May 24, and Shahjehanpore on May 29, and returned on June 1 to Fatehgarh (from which place they had started on June 10). Here they halted until June 17, when they proceeded by way of "Cannouze", Bithoor and "old Cawnpore" to Lucknow where they arrived on June 30. They remained at Lucknow with Claude Martin until October 14, when they took to the river and sailed down as far as Chunar. From Chunar, on January 1, 1790 they began their expedition into the Behar hills. At this point, there is a real break. But from the dated drawings in the Walker collection, we know that they were at Bhagalpur in May 1790 and we learn from the Farington diary that they stayed for twelve months with Samuel Davis, their artist-civilian friend, who was stationed there.

Sir William Foster has unearthed two references from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1792, which show that on January 5, Thomas Daniell advertised a lottery for disposing of 150 oil paintings which were on view at the old Harmonic Tavern, and that the drawing took place on March 8. Two days later, the artists left Calcutta, embarking on the *Dutton* Indiaman at Hiji on the 13th and reaching Madras on the 27th. On April 9 they set out upon an extensive tour in South India, in the course of which they visited Lord Cornwallis's camp outside Bangalore and spent some considerable time at Madura and Trichinopoly, and in the Tinnevely districts, returning to Madras by way of Tanjore. We know from the *Madras Courier* that they arrived in November at the Presidency and held another lottery for their paintings in February 1793.

At this point the travels of the artists are once more involved in uncertainty, as far as the authors of the present volume are concerned. But their movements have been traced from Madras back to South India, thence by sea from Cochin to Muscat, and again by sea from Muscat to Bombay. From Bombay they went (strangely enough) to Canton: for the China Factory Records as well as the log for the *Exeter* Indiaman (both of which can be seen at the India Office) tell us that they received permission on February 28, 1794, to return to England in that vessel, that they sailed from Macao with the flotilla under the convoy of H. M. S. *Lion* which took Lord Macartney back to Europe, and that they landed at Deal on September 7, 1794.

Mr. Martin Hardie and his collaborator are more successful with their description of two contrivances which are mentioned by William Daniell in his journal—the "Perambulator" and the "Camera obscura". The former was a large wheel trundled by a handle with an attachment of clock work and a dial, which recorded the revolutions and so measured distances. The latter is a machine which may still be found in use at certain English seaside resorts, where it exhibits a living panorama. In the time of the Daniells it consisted of box with an open side over which a curtain was hung. Opening into the box at the top is a small convex lens, set in a bellows,



as in an ordinary camera, for the purposes of focussing. Above the lens is a small adjustable mirror usually set at an angle of 45 degrees. The Landscape, or object, to be depicted is reflected in the mirror and the image passes down through the lens and forms a picture on a sheet of white paper placed on the base of the box. The draughtsman, with his head under the curtain, can then readily trace out on the paper the outlines of the subject reflected. Mr. Martin Hardie who has experimented with a "camera obscura" which once belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds says that it is not quite as easy as it looks to produce a satisfactory tracing and that considerable technical skill is required. That the Daniells possessed that skill is evident from the wonderful accuracy of their drawings of buildings. The whole apparatus is 21 inches high, 25 inches wide and 18 inches deep, and packs into a dummy book, 18 inches by 25 inches and about 4 inches deep.

A short chapter deals with the art of aquatinting, which was carried to such perfection by the Daniells. It was introduced into England in 1775 by Paul Sandby (1725-1809), one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy: and Thomas Daniell has a claim to be included among the pioneers, for his Twelve Views of Calcutta were executed in 1786-1788. But it was William Daniell who specialized more particularly in this process of hand-coloured tone-engraving. The publication of the six volumes of *Oriental Scenery*, with one hundred and forty-four beautiful plates, and, at a later date (1810) of the *Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China*, was followed by an even more ambitious work—the "Voyage round Great Britain"—which appeared in eight volumes between 1814 and 1825, and which contains no less than three hundred and eight plates, for which William Daniell alone is responsible. It is strange that this skill as an engraver was used as an argument against his promotion to full Academical rank. We find Joseph Farington, the "Dictator of the Academy", recording in his diary at the beginning of 1811 that William Daniell "is not a prominent character as a painter and most of His time is occupied and He is most known as engraver in Aqua Tinta, a low form of that art."

It has pleased Mr. J. E. Hodgson and Sir Frederick Eaton, the historians of the Royal Academy, to adopt the same tone as Farington, and to describe William Daniell's election in 1822 (when he defeated Constable by seventeen votes to eleven!) as "one of the enigmas of the early days of the Institution." But what can be better than the London views of 1804-1805 and the masterly views of Windsor and Eton which constitute William Daniell's greatest triumph? Mr. Martin Hardie justly says that the view of the Long Walk in the Windsor set is a superb piece of engraving, remarkable alike for its faultless perspective and for the wonderful play of light and shadow. Surely a work such as this outshines the commonplace productions of Augustus Egg and other Academicians of the early Victorian Era.

The tendency to depreciate William Daniell's ability as a painter is no less unjust. It is only necessary to compare one of Farington's wooden landscapes with such pictures by Daniell as "Calcutta from the Garden Reach", "The Taj Mahal at Agra from the opposite side of the River Jumna", and the "View near Nujeebabad in Rohilcund". All three are,

happily for Calcutta, at the Victoria Memorial Hall ; and as we have recently reproduced the two former, we take this opportunity of reproducing the other (I). Undoubtedly, Daniell fails frequently in the drawing of animals : and some of his attempts in *Animated Nature* and in the *Oriental Annual* can only be described as grotesque. But when he came to paint small figures in his landscapes, his touch was both sure and effective. Every little detail is remembered, and the general effect is most attractive. If William Daniell was not a great artist, he was certainly an artist whose compositions hold the attention and please the eye.

Thomas Daniell contended himself with painting in oils after the production of *Oriental Scenery*, and the success of that publication enabled him to retire in 1828 from the active pursuit of his profession. He did not exhibit at the Royal Academy after that year, and lived in complete bachelor seclusion in Kensington until his death in 1840 at the patriarchal age of ninety one. William Daniel on the contrary married a sister of Richard Westall, R.A. and William Westall, A.R.A., and worked hard until he died in 1837. There is an affecting account of his last illness by his friend the Rev. Hobart Caunter in the *Oriental Annual* for 1839.

We may note that Mr. Martin Hardie and his collaborator make no mention of the six volumes (1834-1839) of the *Oriental Annual*. The engravings which they contain are by various hands, but they are all based upon sketches and pictures by William Daniell. Nor do they allude to the very large and representative collection of pictures by the Daniells at the Victoria Memorial Hall—enriched within the last few months by a generous gift from Mrs. George Lyell—or to the equally remarkable collection (also in Calcutta) which has been acquired in recent years by Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyut Coomar Tagore. They are similarly unaware, it would seem, of the fine examples at Petworth, which belong to Lord Leconfield, and of those purchased by Sir Henry Russell, which are still at Swallowfield Park. They are satisfied with recording the picture at the Royal Geographical Society, the two or three at the India Office, the two at the India Museum in South Kensington, the two mediocre specimens in the Royal Academy Diploma Gallery (but not the two pleasing ones in the Soane collection in Lincoln's Inn Fields), those which are the property of the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, and, lastly, the pictures of Benares from Lord Curzon's collection which was recently presented to the Viceroy's House at Delhi by Her Majesty the Queen.

In the third part a number of extracts are given from William Daniell's Indian journal. As these are printed without annotation, much of the matter must be Greek to the reader who is unacquainted with India.

Lastly, a list is provided of pictures exhibited by the Daniells at the Royal Academy and the British Institution. This is taken from the well-known work of reference by the late Mr. Algernon Graves. As a catalogue

(1) For a reproduction of the Calcutta picture, see Vol. XLII, p. 136 : and for a reproduction of the picture of the Taj Mahal, see Vol. XLV, p. 38.

of the drawings purchased from Swallowfield Park has been prepared, its inclusion would have been more useful.

The twelve illustrations are worthy of all praise. Sir David Wilkie's portrait of Thomas Daniell from the Tate Gallery forms the frontispiece and is balanced by the pencil drawing of William as a young man by his brother-in-law Richard Westall which is preserved in the library of the Royal Academy. The other ten are selected from the drawings in what is now the Walker collection. One of them, which represents the Esplanade at Calcutta, can hardly be the work of William Daniell (as stated) ; for its principal feature is Wellesley's Government House, which had not been begun when he left Calcutta in 1792.

EVAN COTTON.

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## The Editor's Note Book.

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WHO was the first educated Bengali to go to Europe? The question has lately been debated in Calcutta, and various individuals have been named. But the answer is, we think, to be found in the Swinton Family Records (privately printed at Edinburgh in 1908) in the following extract from the diary of Capt. Archibald Swinton (p. 105):

In the end of the year 1765 the Emperor Shah Alam requested the English Army to conduct him to Delhy, and assist in placing him on the Throne of his Fathers, but as Lord Clive could not promise him that, he resolved with Lord Clive's approbation to send a letter to the King of Great Britain to solicit his assistance.

As I was about to return to Europe and was well known to the King of Hindostan, the Vizier Monyr ul Dowla requested me to be the bearer of it. This I mentioned to Lord Clive who readily consented: accordingly in December, 1765, the letter was delivered to Lord Clive, and the same time put into my hand by his Lordship. . . . He also requested me to carry a Munshy to Europe with me in case it should be thought proper to send an answer in the Persian language.

Having obtained Lord Clive's consent, I engaged the Munshy to go to Europe. Monyr ul Dowlah however insisted on paying Rs. 2,000 towards his charges.

The "munshy" was Mirza Muhammad and a "short account of him is given in Mr. C. E. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* under his title of Itisam-ud-din. He was a native of the Nadia district and the son of Sheikh Tajuddin. Entering the service of Mir Jafar, he had on the accession of Mir Kasim, attached himself to the English and accompanied Major Yorke on a campaign against Asad Zaman Khan, the Raja of Birbhum. He was subsequently employed in negotiation with the Mahrattas and after a period of service under General Carnac, joined Shah Alam. Swinton relates in his journal that he took the munshi first to London, where they spent three months, and then to Oxford where he examined the Persian manuscripts and assisted Sir William Jones in his researches. From Oxford they proceeded to the house of Swinton's father in Edinburgh. The munshi returned to India after an absence of three years and about the year 1784 wrote the *Shigurf-nama* or "*Wonder Book*" in which he described his travels.

THE following entry in William Daniell's journal is dated September 10, 1788. He had left Calcutta with his uncle Thomas in their budgerow on September 5 and they were on their way up the country. On the previous day they had "tracked" (been towed) to a "small river opposite the end of Chogdah Sand" and had anchored there for the night: "thermometer 93 [degrees] a remarkable Hot Day for the time of the year."

Started about 5 o c[lock] this morning. Passed Harradun house at 8 o c. inhabited by Rajah Sumbee Chundur, son of the late Rajah of Nuddea, Cishin Churn . . . anchored at the close of the Day near the entrance of the Great River (Hoogley), not far from Barripore village.

On the following day William Daniell records that he "Sketched in on a half length a view of Harradun House which uncle means to begin dead colouring to-morrow". However, William "dead coloured" it himself on September 15, and on the 17th "Uncle painted a little in the morning on the Harradun House View". On September 22, William was "employ'd on the Harradun House View". As there are no further references, it may be presumed that the sketch was now finished. No hint is given of the destination of the sketch and no trace of it has been discovered. Harradun House is completely forgotten. It is, however, shown in Rennell's Bengal Atlas (1781, plate 19) and Colesworthy Grant, in his *Rural Life in Bengal* (1860) mentions it casually (p. 23) as "an old ruined stronghold at Hurrodhun" which he locates near the junction of the "Choornee" (Matabhanga) with the Hooghly at Sibpur "about eight miles above Sooksaugor". Through the kindness of Mr. N. Ganguly, who had translated extracts from *Nadia Kahini*, we have obtained some details of its history. Maharaja Krishna Chandra, of the Nadia Raj family, erected two houses, Haradham and Anandadham, about a mile from either bank of the river Churni. Haradham was the more imposing of the two buildings. Within its spacious compound were a temple, a *pujabuti* with a *natmandir* attached to it, a clock tower, and a garden house with stables and outhouses, in addition to the palace itself. Maharaja Krishna Chandra visited the place occasionally for the purpose of bathing in the Ganges. After his death it became the permanent residence of Raja Shambhu Chandra, his only son by his junior wife, and other members of the Raj family settled in the locality. But, as we have seen, nothing remains of these splendours beyond a mass of ruins.

BEFORE leaving Patna on November 2, 1788, William Daniell records that he "went up to the top of the Gola" but "we neglected seeing the Chalees Saitoon and the column with the Lyon on the Top". The Challis Saitoon or hall of forty pillars can be identified without difficulty, although it has entirely disappeared. It stood behind the Madrasah

The "column with the Lyon on the Top" at Patna.

mosque and was erected by Prince Azim-us-Shan. A party of seven English prisoners were murdered there on October 11, 1763, by order of Mir Kasim: six days after the general massacre in the house of Haji Ahmad, a brother of Ali Verdi Khan. But what was "the column with the Lyon on Top"? The memorial pillar which was erected in 1764 and removed in 1880, is not known to correspond to any such description.

IN connexion with the interesting article on "Bob Pott in Murshidabad" by Mr. M. M. Stuart, I.C.S., which was printed in our last number (pp. 5—22) it may be mentioned that there are several references to this "gracious if disgraceful" friend of William Hickey in the journal of William Daniell. On their way up the river in 1788, the Daniells arrived in their budgerow at Bhagalpur on October 18. "Mr. Potts Boats anchored on the opposite side" to them on the following evening. Pott called upon Thomas Daniell on October 20, and "we went with him on board his boat which was very highly finished." The next mention of Pott is on September 24, 1789. The Daniells were staying with Claude Martin at Lucknow. Pott had arrived "in his Pinnace, lately from Jaunpore", and they met him at dinner at the house of Edward Otto Ives, the Resident ("Thermometer 80"). On the 25th "Mr. Pott and some other Gents with him came to look at my Un[cle's] drawings", and on the following day uncle and nephew "breakfasted on board Mr. Potts boat, took our drawings with us to show to Mrs. Pott." (In the evening the Daniells "accompanied the Col. [Martin] and Major du Boigne to see the festival of Hossen and Hossain"). A drawing was made of "Mr. Potts boats" and Pott sent to William Daniell "a picture of Zoffany" from which he made for him "a drawing of two of the figures". On October 3, the Daniells had "breakfast with Mr. Pott in his Boat" and "made a few memorandums of the Boat." On October 12, William Daniell "made a sketch of one of the Dyes [dhais] from Zoffanys picture of Mrs. Brewers [Bruere's] Children for Mr. Pott." A group by Zoffany representing "Mrs. Bruere's children with a dog" is included among the nineteen pictures by that artist belonging to Martin which were sold by auction at Calcutta on December 29, 1801. On the morning of October 13 the Daniells "took a farewell of Col. Martin's bungalow" and spent the day with Pott: "Un[cle] made Mr. P. a drawing of the Tamarind Tree in Mr. Ives' compound, myself copying a sketch from Zoffany for Mr. P." They next met at Allahabad on October 29. "Mr. and Mrs. Pott and family passed the strong water abt. 6 o.c. and brought too [sic] close to us abt. 7." The evening was spent with them and also the following one. On the 31st they "dined with Mr. Pott and family in the Palace" and "took them our drawings to look at it in the evening." The Potts' pinnace "got under weigh" on November 2, and they took leave of them. There are no further entries: but those which have been quoted are of interest because of the

announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 26, 1795, of the forthcoming sale by Messrs. Tulloh Pierce and Co. of the effects of Pott, who had died at Lucknow on June 22 of that year. These included "paintings and drawings by Daniel, Devis, Hodges, and [George] Farington" [the brother of the diarist who died at Murshidabad in 1788] and "a set of Daniel's views of Calcutta," together with "four most beautifully bound large sized drawing books with coloured drawing paper entitled 'Sketches from Nature in Asia.'"

A LARGE and hitherto unsuspected collection of drawings by Thomas Daniell may be seen in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects at 9 Conduit Street, London, W.1. These drawings which are kept in six large folio volumes, were formerly the property of Mr. J. D. Crace, whose well known collection of London prints and drawings is at the British Museum, and who was responsible for much of the mural decoration in the Houses of Parliament. Many of the sketches are of architectural interest, notably a series which reproduce the delicate tracery of the decorations on the Taj: but there are also a number of landscapes.

On September 25, 1932 the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first relief of the Lucknow Residency by Havelock and Outram —a census was taken of the British survivors of the besieged garrison. These were found to be twelve in number. Since that date the total has been decreased by two. Mrs. Erina Shaw died at South sea on December 21, at the age of 95. At the time of the siege she was the wife of Lieutenant Soppitt, of the 4th Oudh Infantry, and subsequently married Major A. Shaw. Her recollections of the memorable eighty-four days remained extraordinarily vivid until the end. Mrs. Margaret Quaid, who died at Aldershot at the end of February at the same age, was the widow of a sergeant of the 32nd Regiment, who was killed during the siege: and she acted as nurse to Mr. A. F. Dashwood, one of the children born before the first relief. There are now no adult survivors. The last of the combatant members of the garrison was Colonel John Bonham, C.B., of the Bengal Artillery, who died in Ireland on May 18, 1928, in his ninety-fourth year. Those who remain were children at the time of the siege. Besides Mr. Dashwood whose mother lived to be eighty and who is still hale and hearty at the age of 76, there are the following:

- (1) Mr. R. H. Anderson (Bengal Civil Service 1876—1902) who was then two and a half years old. He is the grandson of a Waterloo Officer and his father Capt. R. P. Anderson was the gallant defender of Anderson's Post. By way of additional distinction, he has twice read his obituary notice in the Indian newspapers.
- (2) Mr. C. G. Palmer, C.I.E., who was Chief Engineer in the United Provinces at the time of his retirement from the P. W. D. in

1902, and was a boy of ten at the Martinière. He lives in British Columbia. His father Col. (afterwards Gen.) H. Palmer of the 48th Bengal Infantry, was in command at the Machhi Bhawan and successfully evacuated that post.

- (3) Mr. F. Lincoln, the well-known Lucknow barrister was another Martinière boy. So also was
- (4) Brother W. H. Williams, now an inmate of the St. Cross Hospital at Winchester.
- (5) The Rev. R. A. Edgell, who lives at Eastbourne, is a son of Capt. Edgell, the military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence.

The four others are ladies:

- (6) and (7) Mrs. Haynes and Mrs. Long, of Cheltenham : daughters of T. H. Kavanagh, V.C., who left the Residency in disguise and guided Sir Colin Campbell to the second relief.
- (8) Mrs. Pryce, of Bath : the daughter of Major C. E. Bruere of the 13th Bengal Infantry, who was killed on September 4 and whose Brahman sepoy insisted upon carrying his body to the grave. Her brother, Mr. C. E. Bruere, another survivor died at South sea on April 24, 1930, at the age of 76.
- (9) Mrs. Alpin Thomson, of Lymington, she was born in October after the arrival of the first relief force. Her father, Lieut. Lewin of the Artillery, was killed at the Cawnpore Gate on July 26. Her mother survived and subsequently married Sir Roger Goldsworthy.

Mr. Dashwood comes of an old Anglo-Indian family. His father, Lieut. A. J. Dashwood, of the 48th Bengal Infantry, who died of cholera on July 9, and his uncle, Ensign C. K. Dashwood of the 18th Bengal Infantry, who was mortally wounded on November 4, were the sons of Col. A. W. Dashwood (1796—1877) and the grand-children of Thomas Dashwood B. C. S. and Charlotte Louisa Auriol.

**I**NTERESTING details regarding the American wife of Lord Wellesley are to be found in a recently-published book "The Bonapartes in the New World" by Miss E. M. Oddie. It seems incredible that the magnificent Governor-General who

Lord Wellesley's  
American wife.

thwarted the ambitious Eastern dreams of Napoleon, should have been allied by marriage to the Bonaparte family: but such was the fact. Mary Caton, whom Wellesley married as his second wife in 1824 when he was Viceroy of Ireland, was the niece of the Bishop of Baltimore who had in 1804 officiated at the marriage of Napoleon's brother Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson, a noted Baltimore beauty: and she was the widow of Robert Patterson, the brother of Elizabeth. Her sisters also married into the English peerage. Elizabeth



Caton became the wife of Lord Stafford whose sister-in-law Mary Anne Smythe was officially known as the adopted niece of the famous Mrs. Fitzherbert but who was popularly supposed to be one of her children by George the Fourth. Louisa Caton the third sister married the Duke of Leeds. All three were witnesses at the baptism in 1809 of Jerome Napoleon Paterson Bonaparte, the son of Jerome and Elizabeth Patterson and the progenitor of the American Bonapartes, who died in 1870. The present Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, who was born in 1878 and is his grandson, lives in New York but has no children. His uncle Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1832-1921) was a leading advocate at the Maryland Bar, and was Secretary to the Navy in the second administration of President Theodore Roosevelt (1905-1909).

CURIOUSLY enough, also, Wellesley's first wife was a Frenchwoman, Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland ; but he did not marry her until 1795, and although their five children took the father's surname, they were all illegitimate; and the marquessate became extinct upon Wellesley's death in 1842, the Irish earldom of Mornington passed to his brothers, Lord Maryborough and (in 1845) to the Duke of Wellington. Wellesley left his wife at home when he went out to Calcutta in 1795, but compensated for her absence by taking with him a charming portrait group by Hoppner of her and her two elder sons Richard and Gerald, which he hung on the walls of the new Government House. The picture was shown in the spring of 1930 at a loan exhibition of "Eighteenth Century Conversation Pieces", which was held in Sir Philip Sassoon's house in Park Lane. A reproduction of it will be found opposite page 43 of Colonel F. A. Wellesley's "Diary and Correspondence of Henry Wellesley, Earl Cowley". Gerald Wellesley, one of the boys in the picture, was nominated to a Bengal writership in 1807 and after serving as Resident at Indore from 1818 to 1825 and subsequently as opium Agent in Malwa, retired in 1833 and died in 1836, six years before his father.

THE following extract from Emily Eden's *Letters from India* (Vol. II, p. 242: 1872 edition) should please lovers of Darjeeling. It was written in Calcutta on June 4, 1841.

Mr.—brought me such beautiful sketches of Darjeeling to look at this morning. It is a consolation for those who are booked for many years at Calcutta to know that there is this town growing up within four hundred miles with its hills and valleys and snowy range and waterfalls. It seems to be exactly like Simla and stands on high, but one is twelve hundred miles off and the other four hundred.

Miss Eden's habit of omitting names makes it difficult to identify Mr. —. But quite recently (Vol. XLIV, p. 74) we published a picture and plan of Darjeeling in this very year (1841) of which the author was Colonel Archibald Irwin and which Colonel John Shakespear has presented to Government House, Darjeeling.

**T**WO oil paintings by Edward Lear, which represent Kanchanjunga and the Plains of Bengal, as seen from Darjeeling, are being offered for sale by a London dealer (Mr. C. J. Sawyer of 12, Grafton Street, W. 1). Lear (who was born in 1812 and died in 1888) is best known as the writer of nonsense rhymes, but he was also an accomplished artist. He came out to India at the invitation of Lord Northbrook who was Viceroy from 1872 to 1876 and who not only commissioned these pictures but made a large collection of his sketches. These are also on the market. The drawings which number 3147, are classified and arranged in two cabinets fitted with 32 drawers: and the subjects are taken from all parts of India—Calicut, Tellicherry and Beypore on the Malabar coast, Madras, Ootacamund, Trichinopoly, Bombay, Poona, Matheran and Mahabaleshwar, Hyderabad and Golconda, Delhi, Benares, Gwalior, Simla, Mussoorie, Agra, Roorkee, Dinapore, Darjeeling, and Calcutta. The drawing of Benares forms the frontispiece to *the later letters of Edward Lear* (1907) and the two oil-paintings are mentioned on page 195 of that book. Lear was an insatiable traveller and the collection includes also sketches of Italy, Corsica, Albania, Dalmatia, Palestine and Egypt.

Indian drawings by  
Edward Lear.

**W**E are informed by Mr. H. G. Rowlinson, who has just retired from the office of Principal of the Deccan College at Poona, that the portrait of Sir George Oxinden, the first Governor of Bombay under the English Company, which has been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall (*ante*, p. 73) is an exact counterpart of a picture at Government House, Ganeshkhind. Mr. Rowlinson has compared the Poona painting with a photograph of the Calcutta picture.

A portrait of Sir George  
Oxinden.

**A**MONG the latest additions to the Calcutta Museum is a colossal image of Vishnu, which was found by Mr. J. C. Majumdar, the Sadar Sub-divisional Officer at Dinajpur, buried in jungle, with the head barely visible, near the Etawah thana about 18 miles south of Raiganj railway station on the line

A colossal image of  
Vishnu.

between Katihar and Parbatipur. The task of extrication was undertaken by Mr. Majumdar himself in January last, and the image which weighs 25 maunds, was transported to Calcutta. Instead of the usual attributes two smaller images personifying Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune, and Saraswati, the goddess of learning, are placed on either side of the effigy, which is carved from black basalt and is in excellent preservation except that the hands are broken. Mr. Majumdar is to be congratulated upon his discovery and upon the public spirit which he has shown.

THE imposing portico of the old Sans Souci Theatre in Park Street which has for so many years served as the main entrance to St. Xavier's College, has been demolished and will be replaced by a modern building. The Theatre opened its doors on March 8, 1841 when a metrical prologue to celebrate the occasion was written by John William Kaye who was then editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. It seemed as though it were assured of a long and prosperous life: but on November 2, 1843, Mrs. Esther Leach, the "Star" actress of the day, was fatally burned as she stood in the wings waiting for her cue. The tragedy proved fatal to the Theatre also: and it was closed on April 24, 1844. In September 1849 the derelict building and the adjoining land were bought for Rs. 27,500 by Archbishop Carew on behalf of the Roman Catholic community. In January, 1860, the property was made over to the Society of Jesus, and St. Xavier's College entered upon its useful and distinguished career.

OWNERS of a copy of the *Bengal Obituary*, published by Holmes and Co. of 39, Cossitollah (Bentinck Street), Calcutta in 1848, will notice on page 186 the transcription of an inscription in memory of "Quintin Dick Thompson, Esq. of the Civil Service of this Establishment", who died at the age of twenty-six "on Thursday the 29th day of June". The year is omitted. There was no civil servant of that name on the Bengal Establishment and there is no mention of the grave in the official register of tombs in the Park Street cemeteries. But it appears from the East India Register of 1808 that Quintin Dick Thompson was a writer of 1804 on the Prince of Wales Island (Penang) Establishment, and was acting warehouse keeper and paymaster. Further enquiries, which have been made at the India Office by the Superintendent of Records, disclose that he was buried at Prince of Wales Island on June 29, 1809 (Register of Burials at P. W. I. from January to July 1809, folio 65). How came this entry to find its way into the *Bengal Obituary*? Several other entries on the same page are likewise wanting in the year of death. Probably Messrs. Holmes and

A Note to the "Bengal obituary".

Co. engraved the monuments and extracted the inscriptions from their ledgers without taking note of the year.

ANOTHER writer at Prince of Wales Island bore the historic name of John Shore. Readers of William Hickey's *Memoirs* will recollect that one of his fellow passengers on the *Castle Eden*, in John Shore junior. which he sailed for Europe in February 1808, was "Mr. Shore, a natural son of Lord Teignmouth. The baptism of John Shore is recorded in the registers of St. John's Church, Calcutta, on October 23, 1777. He received an appointment as writer at Fort Marlborough in 1790 and was evidently transferred to Bengal, for in the *East India Register* for 1808 we find him as Secretary to the Marine Board at Calcutta.

WE have received from Mr. J. G. Brooker of Cossipore, a cutting from a recent issue of the *Aberdeen Free Press* which indicate that a strange tradition on the subject of Madame Grand survives in that city. It is suggested that a Lieutenant of His Majesty's Seventh Regiment of Foot who died on December 26, 1786, in his twenty-third year and is buried in the old Kirkyard of St. Nicholas, succeeded George Francis Grand as the husband of this famous lady. We are told, on the authority of "a newspaper paragraph of 1831" that Madame Grand was actually in Aberdeen at the time of Symes' death and that she remained there after it. "The beautiful and accomplished but disconsolate widow spent many a solitary hour in wandering about the Shrubbery which then flourished where 'Love Lane' now is. She was a great favourite for her accomplishments and beauty." The story continues that eventually "some one gave her money enough to leave Aberdeen." There is mention on the tombstone of an infant child, but nothing further is known. Now, the researches of Dr. Busteed enable us to say that the liaison with Philip Francis in Calcutta came to an end in December, 1780, when she sailed from the Hooghly in a Dutch ship; and that she struck up an acquaintance on the voyage with Mr. Thomas Lewin, a Madras Civil Servant, who joined the vessel at the cape. Lewin went to Paris upon his arrival in Europe and Dr. Busteed thinks it likely that Madame Grand went there also. She was certainly in Paris in the month of August 1792, when she escaped to England: and it is also the case that she was in Paris again in 1797, when she came under the notice of Talleyrand who married her, to everyone's surprise, in 1802. There is a gap, undoubtedly, in her history after 1780: and it would be interesting to receive further evidence regarding this Aberdeen Episode.

An Aberdeen Tradition  
of Madame Grand.

# Calcutta Historical Society.

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## REPORT FOR 1932.

The annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Office of the Society at 3, Govt. Place West, on Wednesday, the 10th May 1933 at 6-30 P.M. under the Presidency of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

The following report for the year 1932 was read by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali the Honorary Secretary.

In introducing the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society for the year 1932, it is pleasing to record that the Society which was founded on the 27th April 1907 completed the 25th year of its existence, and celebrated the 25th anniversary in a fitting manner during the year under review, the full report of which has already appeared in the January to March 1932 issue of the journal.

We have to record with deep regret the death during the year, of one of our most valued members in the person of Prebendary Henry Barry Hyde at the age of 78. He was the author of the *Parish of Bengal* and the *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. He joined the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment in 1887 and was senior Chaplain of St. John's Church, Calcutta, for about 10 years (1888-99) and subsequently Archdeacon of Madras. In Revd. Hyde we have lost not only one of our Senior Vice-Presidents, but also an enthusiastic, accurate and a learned student of the history of Calcutta. He used to take great interest in our work and as a Vice-President of the Society for several years added lustre to its activities. His death is a great loss to us.

In the year under report the total number of members of the Society was as follows—

Life Members	...	...	...	25
Honorary Members	...	...	...	10
Ordinary Members	...	...	...	115
				<hr/>
				150

against 146 of the previous year. It is pleasing to note that four new members have been added to the list.

*Financial Position:* From the abstract Statement of Account of the General and Index Funds, submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, after examining the accounts for the year 1932, it will be seen that the balance in the Bank up to the 31st December, 1932 amounts to Rs. 1,692-6-3 out of which the sum of Rs. 360-15-7 belongs to the Index Fund, and Rs. 1,331-6-6 to the General Fund including the Fixed

Deposit of Rs. 1,200/- which has been renewed for twelve months. We offer our sincere thanks to Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes for auditing the account of the Society free of charge year after year.

The subscriptions of 22 ordinary members amounting to Rs. 990/- was in arrears at the close of the year. I am happy to state that out of this amount the sum of Rs. 160/- has since been realised and it is hoped that the major portion of the balance will be realised during the current year.

Although there is a slight increase in the admission of members our financial position does not appear to be very satisfactory. During the present financial crisis some of our ordinary members have resigned and the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, who used to contribute Rs. 256/- annually for 16 copies of "Bengal: Past and Present" at the concession rate has reduced the subscriptions to half the number of copies this year.

Before expressing our sincere thanks to all those who have helped our journal, "Bengal: Past and Present" with their valuable contributions, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to Sir Evan Cotton, who even in his retirement from India since 1925 has all along been taking an active interest in the activities of the Society and particularly in its journal, each issue of which contains one or more articles from his masterly pen.

Among others, the Society is grateful to Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E., Mr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A. (Oxon); Captain H. Bullock, F. R. Hist. S., Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S.; Mr. Harihar Dass. B. Litt. (Oxon) F. R. Hist. S.; Mr. Kalinkar Dutta, M.A., P.R.S., The Revd. W. K. Friminger, D.D., Prof. K. K. Bose, M.A., Miss Freda M. Sachse, Mr. Basanta Kumar Bose, Mr. Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.; Major V. C. P. Hodson, Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., Mr. Sydney C. Grier, and Mr. C. Grey.

Our special thanks are due to Miss Sachse and to Mr. Ganguly for their kindness in carrying on the editorial work of the journal during the Editor's absence on leave during the year under report.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

Mr. D. C. Ghose the Honorary Treasurer then read the Financial Statement of the Society for the year 1932, and laid on the table the Balance Sheet drawn up by Messrs Lovelock and Lewes, the Honorary Auditors.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth proposed the adoption of the Annual Report and the Financial Statement. Mr. R. Maulik seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. Abdul Ali, seconded by Mr. C. W. Gurner all the Office Bearers of the previous year were re-elected for the year 1933.

On the proposal of Mr. N. Ganguly seconded by Mr. P. Trevedi a new Rule was introduced which runs as follows:—

"A reproduction fee of Rs. 5/- will be charged for each Block belonging to the Society issued on loan to any member of the public."

With a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Office Bearers the Meeting terminated at 8 P.M.

## CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## GENERAL FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1932.*

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Balance at 1st January 1932.		Printing including Blocks and Reprints . . . .	2,090 10 9
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Postages and Stationery .	191 14 6
On Current Account	274 5 5	Bank Charges . . . .	2 2 0
„ Fixed Deposit .	1,200 0 0	Anniversary Fund	
	<u>1,474 5 5</u>	Entertainments . . . .	808 0 0
Subscriptions realised		Printing . . . . .	96 8 0
Arrears . . . . .	400 0 0	Sundry Expenses . .	<u>53 10 0</u>
Current year . . . .	1,136 0 0		958 2 0
Advance for 1933 . .	20 0 0	Balance at 31st December 1932.	
	<u>1,556 0 0</u>	With Mercantile Bank India Ltd.	
Sale of Society's Journal	483 14 6	On Current Account	131 6 8
Anniversary Fund		„ Fixed Deposit .	1,200 0 0
Donations received . .	1,010 0 0		<u>1,331 6 8</u>
Interest on Fixed Deposit	50 0 0		<u>Rs. 4,574 3 11</u>
	<u>Rs. 4,574 3 11</u>		

CALCUTTA,  
17th February 1933.

Examined and found correct.  
LOVELOCK & LEWES  
Chartered Accountants.

## CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## INDEX FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1932.*

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Balance at 1st January 1932.		Bank Charges . . . .	0 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		Balance at 1st January 1932.	
On Current Account	360 15 7	On Current Account	360 14 7
	<u>Rs. 360 15 7</u>		<u>Rs. 360 15 7</u>

CALCUTTA,  
17th February 1933.

Examined and found correct.  
LOVELOCK & LEWES  
Chartered Accountants.













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Bound by

*Bhuratt.*

13, Patwarbagan Lane,

Date **12 MAY 1953**